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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
PROGRESS AND TERMINATION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

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OF EDINBURGH.

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Object and scope of the Inquiry. — The Inquiry is a preliminary one, and is intended to ascertain the facts of the case, and to determine the principles of law which apply to the facts. — It is not intended to decide the merits of the case, or to determine the rights of the parties. — The Inquiry is a preliminary one, and is intended to ascertain the facts of the case, and to determine the principles of law which apply to the facts. — It is not intended to decide the merits of the case, or to determine the rights of the parties.

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THE
HISTORY
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BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

*Arrival of Cæsar at Utica.—Wreck of the Republican Party.—
Servility of the Roman People.—Magnificence and Administration
of Cæsar.—His last Campaign in Spain.—Death of the elder
of Pompey's Sons.—Cæsar's Return, Triumphs, Honours, and
Policy in the State.—Spirit of the Times.—Source of the Con-
spiracy against Cæsar.—Its Progress.—Death of Cæsar.*

WHEN Cæsar was informed, on his march from Thapsus, that
of all the principal men of the opposite party, Cato alone re-
mained at Utica to receive him, he was at a loss to interpret his con-
duct, and possibly might have found it difficult to determine how he

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should deal with an antagonist, whom he neither could reconcile to his usurpation, nor treat as a criminal. The character of generosity towards his enemies, which Cæsar had assumed, laid him under some obligation, in point of consistency, to treat the person of Cato with respect; and the opportunity he would have had, in that instance, of exercising his clemency with so much lustre, could not have escaped him. In the busiest scene of his life he had not any party object, or any party quarrel to maintain; he had repeatedly sacrificed personal animosity to ambition; and when he took the field against the republic, he had few private resentments to gratify: he knew that an affectation of reluctance in shedding the blood of Roman citizens, the reverse of what remained so much an object of horror in the memory of Sylla, was the likeliest means to cover the effects of this destructive war, and to reconcile the People to his government. In the bulk of his fellow citizens he had found either rubbish to be removed from the way of his ambition, or tools with which he might work in removing it; they were the dupes of his policy, or open to the imputations of sinister designs or unreasonable obstinacy which he cast on his opponents. In Cato, perhaps, alone, he found a measure of estimation, which, with all his abilities and prosperous fortune, he could not neglect, and a penetration which, without management for his person, treated his politics as a system of villany devised for the ruin of the commonwealth. Cato therefore alone, of all his antagonists, he possibly hated beyond the possibility of a reconciliation.

Cæsar was in reality, according to the representation of his friend Curio, neither sanguinary nor scrupulous of blood, but in the highest degree indifferent to both, and ready to do whatever was most likely to promote his designs. As he had already sufficiently provided for

* *Et cuncta terrarum subacta propter atrocem animam Catonis.*

the reputation of clemency, he now made a freer use of his sword, and in proportion as he approached to the end of the war, or saw the means of extirpating those who were most likely to disturb his government, he dipped his hands with less scruple in the blood of his enemies. As he pursued Pompey into Egypt, under a certain impression that the death of this rival was material to the establishment of his power in Italy, so it is likely that he now hastened to Utica as a place at which he might crush the remains of the republic. On hearing of the death of Cato, however, he made use of an expression which served to discover the resolution he had taken with respect to him. "I must be allowed," he said, "to envy this man the splendour of his death, as he has refused me the honour of preserving his life." Having passed through Uzita and Adrumetum, which surrendered to him on his march, and being met by numbers who came to make their submission, he arrived at Utica in the evening, and continued all night without the gates.

Marcus Messala had already taken possession of the town. Caesar entered on the following day; and having ordered the people to attend him, made a speech, in which he thanked the colony of Utica for their faithful attachment to his cause; but spoke of three hundred Roman citizens, who had contributed to support the war against him, in terms which sufficiently shewed that he was no longer to court the reputation of mercy. Appian says, that as many of them as fell into his hands were by his order put to death. Hirtius relates, that he only confiscated their effects, and that this sentence was afterwards changed into a limited fine, amounting in all to two hundred thousand sesteria, or about a million and a half sterling, to be paid in three years, at six separate payments.

From this general wreck of the republican party in Africa, the leaders continued their flight in different directions. Many who surrendered themselves were spared; but most of those, who, in their

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attempts to escape, fell into the enemy's hands, either killed themselves, or by Cæsar's order were put to death*. Afranius and Faustus Sylla having joined a party of cavalry that fled by Utica from the field of battle, were intercepted by Silius, and defending themselves, with the loss of many of their party, were taken. In a few days after this event, these prisoners, under pretence of a riot in the camp, were put to death.

Scipio, with Damasippus, Torquatus, and Plætorius Rustianus, endeavoured to escape by sea into Spain. After being tossed some days with contrary winds, they ventured to put into Hippo, on the coast of Numidia, where they met with a squadron of Cæsar's fleet, commanded by Silius. Their vessel being boarded, they were asked with impatience, Where is the general? Scipio himself made answer, *The general is well*; and in uttering these words stabbed himself, and went headlong into the sea.

Juba, with Petreius, having escaped from the field of battle at Thapsus, lay concealed by day, and continued their flight in the night towards Zama, a place which, at the breaking-out of the war, the king of Numidia had fortified, and made the residence of his women, and the repository of his treasure and most valuable effects. He knew that if he should be taken captive by a Roman general, the consequence was being led in triumph, and possibly afterwards put to death. He had therefore provided this retreat in case of an unfortunate issue to the war; intending it merely as a place at which he might die in state. With this intention he had raised, near to the royal palace, a pile of wood on which he meant to consume whatever could mark or adorn the victor's triumph; and it was his purpose, while he set these materials, and with them the whole city, on fire, to commit himself and his women to the flames.

* Dio. Cass. lib. xliii. c. 12. Appian. de Bello Civili, lib. ii. Florus, Entropius, Hirtius.

The inhabitants of Zama had some intimation of this design, and, upon the approach of the king, not choosing to celebrate by such an offering the exit of a vanquished prince, shut their gates and refused him admittance. They likewise had the humanity to refuse sending the women to him, on a supposition that he meant they should be a sacrifice to his jealousy, or be involved in his ruin.

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Juba finding himself thus disobeyed, even by his own subjects, retired to one of his country seats; and having ordered a splendid entertainment, at the close of it he and Petreius fell together by their own swords. The kingdom of Numidia was converted into a Roman province, and the government of it was committed to Sallust the historian. The son of the king, yet an infant, was reserved to make a part in the procession of the victor's triumph². The furniture and ornaments of his palaces were sold, and produced a considerable sum of money. Great contributions were raised at the same time in those parts of Africa which had been already subjected to the condition of a Roman province. The inhabitants of Thapsus were made to pay fifty thousand Roman sestertia⁴; those of Adrumetum, eighty thousand; those of Leptis and Tyfdra paid the quotas exacted from them in corn and oil.

Cæsar having, in this manner, closed a scene in which he had destroyed fifty thousand of his opponents, who might be supposed to be the most obstinate adherents of the republican party, and having joined to the empire a territory which, by the report afterwards made in the assembly of the People, was fitted to yield an annual tribute of three hundred thousand medimni of grain, and three hundred thousand weight of oil⁵, he embarked at Utica, on the fifteenth of June, and in three days after he sailed from thence, arrived in the island of Sardinia; a part of his dominions, said Cicero,

² Plut. in Cæs.

⁴ About 400,000 l.

⁵ Plut. in Cæs.

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which he had not hitherto seen. Before his departure from Africa he had made the necessary arrangements respecting the army; and, although he had recently availed himself of the services of the legions who had mutinied in Italy, and seemed to have forgotten their offence, yet he took the benefit of the present prosperous state of his affairs to indulge his resentment; and that they might not communicate with factious spirits in Italy, have leisure to over-rate their services, or to set an example to the rest of the army of exorbitant demands, he ordered them to be broke and disbanded in Africa. The remainder of the troops who had given him the victory in that country, he ordered, after receiving the necessary refreshments, to proceed in the voyage to Spain, where he had still some resistance to apprehend from the sons of Pompey.

Leaving the army therefore to pursue this course, Cæsar himself took shipping again in the island of Sardinia on the twenty-ninth of June; and, being some time detained by contrary winds, arrived at Rome on the twenty-sixth of the following month^s; having, since the time of his departure from Italy, on the expedition to Africa, in which he had so many difficulties to surmount, spent no more than six months.

The news of Cæsar's victory had been some time received. The principal supports of the republic had fallen at Thapsus and at Pharsalia; and as the sons of Pompey, though favourably received by their late father's adherents in Spain, were not yet supposed to be in condition to resist the victor, the revolution in his favour seemed to be complete, and every part of the Roman empire subjected to his power. Nothing now remained, but that he should take possession of that sovereignty to which he aspired, and in which, it soon after appeared, that to him there was a charm, even in the court that was paid to him, as well as in the possession of power.

^s Hirtius de Bell Afr. c. 86.

Whatever distress the surviving members of the commonwealth may have suffered on the loss of their relations and friends, who had fallen in the late bloody transactions of this war, or whatever mortification they may have felt on the loss of their own political consequence, as partners in the empire of the world, no symptoms of aversion, or unwilling submission, appeared on the part of the People; all orders of men hastened to pay their court to the victor, and, by their servile adulations, to anticipate the state of degradation into which they were soon to be reduced.

In the name of the Senate and People a continual thanksgiving of forty days was decreed for the late victory at Thapsus. The power of Dictator was conferred on Cæsar for ten years, and that of Censor, which gave the supreme disposal of honours and rank in the commonwealth, and which, on account of the abuse to which it was subject, had been some time abolished, was now under a new title, that of *Præfectus Morum*, restored in his person. At the same time the nomination of some of the officers of state, formerly elected by the people, was committed to him. He was, in the exercise of these powers, to be preceded by seventy-two lictors, triple the number of those who used to attend the Dictators, and he was to enjoy, for life, many of the inferior prerogatives, which, under the republic, served to distinguish the first officers of state; such as that of giving the signals for the horses to start, or for the other sports to begin at the games of the Circus; and that of delivering his opinion before any one else in the Senate. It was likewise ordered, that he should have in the Senate a gilded chair of state, placed next to that of the Consul; and, as if it were intended to join ridicule with these extraordinary honours, it was decreed, that as the conqueror of Gaul, in his triumphs he should be drawn by white horses, to put him on a foot of equality with Camillus, to whom this distinction had been given, as the restorer of his country from its destruction by the an-

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cestors of that nation; that his name should be inserted, instead of that of Catulus, as the person who had rebuilt the Capitol; that a car, like that of Jupiter, should be placed for him in the same temple, and near to the statue of the god himself; and that his own statue, with the title of a demi-god, should be erected on a globe representing the earth.

It is said that Cæsar refused many of the honours which were decreed to him; but in these, which he no doubt encouraged, or favourably received, he sufficiently betrayed a vanity which but rarely accompanies such a distinguished superiority of understanding and courage. Though in respect to the ability with which he rendered men subservient to his purpose; in respect to the choice of means for the attainment of his end; in respect to the plan and execution of his designs, he was far above those who were eminent in the history of mankind; yet in respect to the end which he pursued, in respect to the passions he had to gratify, he was one merely of the vulgar, and condescended to be vain of titles and honours, which he has shared with persons of the meanest capacity. Insensible to the honour of being deemed the equal in rank to Cato and Catulus, to Hortensius and Cicero, and the equal in reputation to Sylla, to Fabius, and to the Scipios, he preferred being a superior among profligate men, the leader among soldiers of fortune, and to extort by force from his fellow citizens a deference which his wonderful abilities must have made unavoidable, even if he had possessed the magnanimity to despise it.

Cæsar, soon after the distinctions now mentioned were bestowed upon him, addressed himself to the Roman Senate and People, in a speech which, being supposed to proceed from a master, was full of condescension and lenity, but from a fellow citizen, was fraught with insult and contumely. A speech delivered on so remarkable an occasion was likely to be in substance preserved; and under the government

vernment of his successors, by whom he was numbered with the gods, it was not likely to get abroad but with a view to do him honour. "Let no man," he said, "imagine, that, under the favour of my exalted situation, I am now to indulge myself in acts, or even in expressions, of severity; or that I am to follow the example of Marius, of Cinna, of Sylla, or of most others, who, having subdued their enemies, dropt, in the height of their fortune, that character of moderation under which they had formerly enticed men to their party. I have appeared all along in my true character, and now, in the height of my power, have no change to make in my conduct". The more my fortunes advance, the more I will endeavour to use them properly. My sole object, while I endeavoured to rise above my enemies, was to secure for myself a situation in which I might exercise virtue with dignity and safety; and I shall not now imitate the examples which I myself have often condemned, nor sully the splendour of my victories by an improper use of my power.

"As the favours of fortune are won by vigour, so they are preserved by moderation, and should be most carefully preserved by those who enjoy the greatest share of them. I covet sincere affection and genuine praise; not the adulation that springs from fear and hatred. These are my serious thoughts, confirmed on reflection; and you shall find me governed by them in all the actions of my life. I do not mean to be your lord or your tyrant, but your chief and your leader. When the State has occasion for my authority, you shall find in me a Dictator and a Consul; but on ordinary occasions, no more than a private man".

"I have spared many who were repeatedly in arms against me. I have shut my ears to informations of the hidden designs of

^s Dio. Cass. lib. xliii. c. 15, &c.

^s Ibid.

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" others, and have destroyed all letters and papers which could lead
 " to a detection of my secret enemies. To most of you I can have
 " no resentment; and I do not incline to raise prosecutions against
 " those who may think they have incurred my displeasure. Live,
 " therefore, with me from this time forward in confidence, as chil-
 " dren with their father. I reserve to myself the power of
 " punishing the guilty, as far as justice requires; but will protect
 " the innocent and reward the deserving.

" Let not these appearances of military force alarm you. The
 " troops which are quartered in the city, and which attend my per-
 " son, are destined to defend, not to oppress the citizens; and
 " they will know, upon every occasion, the limits of their duty.

" Uncommon taxes have lately been levied in the provinces and
 " in Italy, but not for my private use. I have in reality expended
 " my fortune, and contracted immoderate debts in the public service;
 " and, while I myself have borne so great a part of the burden, am
 " likewise made to bear the blame of what others have exacted."

He concluded with assurances, that the arrears which were due to
 the troops, and the other debts of the public⁷, should be paid with
 the least possible inconvenience to the People.

In this speech was conveyed, not the indignant and menacing
 spirit of Sylla, who despised the very power of which he was pos-
 sessed; but the conscious state and reflecting condescension of a prince
 who admired and wished to recommend his greatness. The Roman
 people, in former instances of usurpation, had experienced sangui-
 nary and violent treatment, and they now seemed to bear with in-
 difference the intire suppression of their political rights, when exe-
 cuted by hands, that refrained from proscriptions and murders. But
 as Cæsar seemed to think his present elevation the highest object of

⁷ Dio. Cass. lib. xliii. c. 15, &c.

human wishes, there were some who thought their present subjection the lowest state of degradation and misery. "What should I do in such times?" says Cicero to his correspondent, "books cannot always amuse me. I go into any company, affect to be noisy, and laugh, to conceal my sorrow."

The populace were gratified with shews, processions, and feasts, and with the gratuities that were given them in money. Cæsar had four separate triumphs in one month. The first for his conquest of Gaul, at which Vercingetorix, the prince of the Arverni, by a custom cruel and odious in all its parts, was led in chains, and afterwards put to death. The second for his victory in Egypt, at which Arsinoë, the sister of the queen, was exhibited in fetters, and by her youth and beauty excited a general compassion, which preserved her life. A third for the defeat of Pharnaces, where the trophies, as has already been mentioned, were marked with the words, *I came, I saw, I vanquished*. The last for the overthrow of the king of Numidia, in which the infant son of that prince was carried in procession. This captive having received a literary education at Rome, became afterwards, according to Plutarch, an historian of eminence.

Although triumphs were not obtained for the defeat of fellow citizens, and nothing in these processions had a reference to Pompey, yet the effigies of many considerable senators, who had fallen in the civil war, were carried before the victor's chariot.

In these processions, Cæsar is said to have carried to the treasury, in all, sixty thousand talents in money"; two thousand eight hundred and twenty two chaplets or crowns of gold, weighing twenty thousand four hundred and fourteen pounds". He at the same

* Cic. ad Familiar. lib. ix. ep. 26. Miraris tam exultatam esse servitatem nostram. Quid ergo faciam?—ibi loquor quod in solum ut dicitur, et gemitum in risus maximos transfero.

Plut. in Cæs. Dio. Cass.

¹⁰ About 10,000,000 l.

¹¹ The Roman pondo consisted of ten ounces, about 800,000 l.

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time distributed to each private man of the army, five thousand denarii or drachmas, about one hundred and sixty one pounds sterling: to each Centurion, double: to the Tribune, quadruple: to the People, an Attic mina of an hundred drachmas, or about three pounds four shillings and seven pence a man¹².

The soldiers, who walked in these processions, in chanting their ballads and lampoons, took the usual petulant liberties with their leader, alluded to the disorders of his youth and to the crimes of his age; and shewed that they were not deceived by the professions which he made of a zeal for the rights of the people. "If you observe the laws," they said, "you shall be punished; but if you boldly transgress them all, a crown is your reward." These appearances of freedom in the troops, perhaps, flattered the People with some image of the ancient familiarity of ranks which subsisted in times of the republic; but the licence of mere soldiers of fortune brings too often the reverse of freedom to the People; and in whatever manner those of Rome were qualified to judge of their own situation, it is likely that the pageants, which now entertained them, were part of the means which Cæsar employed to reconcile them to his usurpation, and to divert their thoughts from the prospect of a military government with which they were threatened. Farther to secure these effects, he continued to multiply shews and public diversions. He himself, at the close of his triumphs, walked in procession at the opening of magnificent edifices he had built, and in his return at night from this ceremony, attended by multitudes of the People, was lighted by torches borne on elephants¹³. At the same time he erected theatres, and exhibited dramatic performances in different parts of the city, and amply indulged the taste of the populace for entertainments of every sort. He introduced not only gladiators to

¹² Appian. Sueton.¹³ Dio. Cass. Suetonius.

fight in single combat, but parties on foot and on horseback to engage in considerable numbers on opposite sides, and to exhibit a species of battles. Among these, he shewed the manner of fighting from elephants, having forty of these animals properly mounted, and the manner likewise of fighting at sea, having vessels on a piece of water which was formed for the purpose. In most of these shews, the parties who were engaged, being captives or malefactors condemned to die, gave a serious exhibition of the utmost efforts they could make in real fight.

Among the other articles of shew and expence which composed the magnificence of these entertainments, are mentioned the blinds or awnings of silk, a material then of the highest price, which were spread over the public theatres to shade the spectators from the sun, and to enable them undisturbed, from under these delicate coverings, to enjoy the fights of bloodshed and horror which were presented before them. Two human sacrifices, we are told, were at the same time offered up in the field of Mars, by priests specially named for this service. Of this shocking exhibition, the historian does not explain the occasion²⁴. The whole was attended by a feast, to which the People were invited, and at which twenty thousand benches or couches were placed for these numerous guests²⁵. So great was the concourse from the country to this entertainment, that multitudes lay in the streets, or lodged in booths erected for the occasion. Many were trampled under foot, and killed in the crowds. Among those who perished in this manner, two Roman Senators are mentioned.

This method of gaining the people, by flattering their disposition to dissipation and idleness, was already familiar at Rome. It had been employed under the republic in procuring favour, and in purchasing votes by those who aspired to the offices of state. It was now extended by Cæsar to effect the revolution he had in view, and to recon-

²⁴ Dio. Cass. lib. xliii. c. 24.

²⁵ Plut. in Cæsar.

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cile the populace of Rome, who had for some time governed the empire, to the loss of their political consequence, in being deprived of a power which they were no longer worthy to hold. It is probable, that the arms of Cæsar were not more successful in subduing those who opposed him in the field, than these popular arts were in gaining the consent of his subjects to the dominion he was about to assume.

From this time forward, Cæsar took upon himself all the functions of government, and while he suffered the forms of a Senate and popular assemblies to remain, availed himself of their name and authority without consulting with either, affixing without scruple the superscription of particular Senators to the decrees or edicts, which he sent abroad into the provinces¹⁶. "My name," says Cicero, "is often prefixed to public deeds which are sent abroad, as having been moved or drawn up by me, and which come back from Armenia or Syria as mine, before I have ever heard of them at Rome. Do not imagine I am in jest; for I have letters from persons, whose names I never heard of before, thanking me for the honour I have done them in bestowing the title of king¹⁷."

Equally absolute in the city as in the provinces, Cæsar placed whomever he thought proper on the rolls of the Senate; and, without regard to birth, declared some to be of Patrician rank. He recalled some who had been driven into exile for illegal practices, and reinstated in their ranks many whom the Censors had degraded¹⁸. In all

¹⁶ It is well known, that the *Senatus Consultum* bore the names of the Senators by whom they were proposed.

¹⁷ Ante audio *Senatus consultum* in Armeniam et Syriam esse perlatum, quod in meam sententiam factum esse dicatur, quam omnino mentionem ullam de ea re esse factam. Atque hoc nolim me jocare putes, nam mihi scito jam, a regibus ultimis allatas esse literas, quibus mihi gratias agant, quod se mea sententia reges appellaverim; quos ego non

modo reges appellatos, sed omnino nato nesciebam. Cicero ad Familiares, lib. ix. ep. 15.

¹⁸ At this time, he with much difficulty was persuaded, at the intercession of the Senate, to permit the return of Caius Marcellus, who at Athens, on his way into Italy, was, upon motives which have not been explained, assassinated by one of his own attendants. This Marcellus was Consul, U. C. 703.

the elections, he named half the magistrates, or in a mandate, addressed to the Tribes, took upon him to direct the People whom they were to chuse¹⁹. In the exercise of so much power, he became reserved and difficult of access, familiar only with persons whom he himself had raised, and who had talents amusing or serviceable, and without any pretensions to alarm his jealousy²⁰. Nevertheless, if the Romans could have overlooked what was offensive in his manner, or illegal in the powers which he had thus usurped, many of his acts were in themselves, as might have been expected from so able a personage, worthy of a great prince, and tending to reform abuses, as well as to facilitate the summary proceedings of the despotical power he had assumed.

Among the first acts of Cæsar's reign, the law of Sylla, by which the children of the proscribed had been excluded from holding any office in the state, was repealed. The judiciary law, which had undergone so many alterations, and which, in its latest form, admitted some of the inferior class of the People²¹ on the roll of the judges or jurymen, was now reformed, so as to limit the exercise of the judicature to the Senators and Knights. A scrutiny was made into the titles of those who had been in the practice to receive corn at the public granaries, and their numbers were greatly reduced²². Of the corporations which had been multiplied for factious purposes, many were abolished, and the original companies of the city alone

¹⁹ The words of Cæsar's mandate were, "Cæsar Dictator tribui, &c. &c. commendo vobis illum, &c. &c. ut vestro suffragio suam dignitatem teneat. Sueton. in Cæsar."

²⁰ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. iv. ep. 9. Ib. lib. vi. ep. 14.

²¹ The Tribuni Aerarii.

²² The leaders of faction under the republic, and no one probably more than Cæsar himself, in order to encrease the numbers of

their partizans, had augmented this list, and it was undoubtedly become a great abuse. Dion Cassius says, it was at this time reduced by Cæsar to one half. Suetonius specifies the numbers from three hundred and twenty thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand. Plutarch and Appian state the reduction, so as to be understood of the numbers of the whole people, in comparing the muster taken before the civil war with the one now made.

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were permitted to remain. Many punishments, for the better restraining of crimes, were increased. To the ordinary punishment of murder, was joined the confiscation of the whole estate; to that of some other crimes, the confiscation of one half. The kalendar was reformed upon the principles established by the Egyptian astronomers. The reckoning by lunar months, and the use of irregular intercalations, which had been frequently made for party and political purposes, had so deranged the terms, that the festivals to be observed by reapers did not happen in harvest, or those of the vintage in autumn. To restore them therefore to their proper dates in the kalendar, no less than an intercalation of sixty-seven days, or above two months was required. This intercalation was made in the present year, between the months of November and December, so that the name of December was transferred from the time of the autumnal Equinox, to that, where it still remains, of the winter solstice.

Under the government of Cæsar, sumptuary laws were framed to restrain the expence of the table; and he himself expressed great zeal to correct the abuse which prevailed in this article. Being sensible that Italy was greatly depopulated by the distractions of the commonwealth, and by the devastations of the late civil war, he took measures to restore the numbers of the people, both by detaining the natives of Italy at home, and by inviting foreigners to settle. He gave premiums to those who had families: he ordered, that no citizen above twenty nor under ten, except belonging to the army, should remain out of Italy above three years at a time; and that the sons of Senators, except in the family or retinue of public officers, should not go abroad: that all landholders in Italy should employ no less than one third freemen on their lands; that all practitioners of liberal arts, particularly foreign physicians settling at Rome, should be admitted on the rolls of the People; and at the same time he extended the privilege of Romans to whole cities and provinces in dif-

ferent parts of the empire", by these means increasing the number of Roman citizens, or at least increasing the number of those who were to bear this title. Sensible that he himself had become dangerous to the republic, by having his power as a provincial officer improperly prolonged, he took measures to prevent a similar danger to the government, of which he himself had now acquired the possession, limiting the duration of command in the provinces, if with the title of Proprætor to one year, or with that of Proconsul to two years; a regulation, in which he shewed how well he understood the nature of the ladder by which he himself had mounted to his present elevation, and how much he desired to withhold the use of it from any one else who might be disposed to tread in his steps, or to dispute his continuance in the height he had gained.

While Cæsar, on a supposition that he himself was to hold the reins of government, was providing for the security of the power he had established in the capital, and on a supposition that he had no enemy left in the field, or that the remains of the adverse party in the provinces might be extinguished by his officers, was betaking himself to civil affairs and to popular arts, he had reports from Spain which convinced him, that his own presence might still be necessary to repress a party, which began to resume its vigour under the sons of Pompey. He had sent Didius, with the fleet and army, from Sardinia, to secure the possession of Spain; but this service was found to be more difficult than was at first apprehended. He had himself, in appearance, reduced this province; but many humours had broke out in it, while he was afterwards so much occupied in other parts of the empire. Even the troops which had joined his standard, mutinied during the uncertain state of his fortunes in Thessaly and Egypt; and though, upon the death of Cassius Longinus, and the

C H A P.
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²² Dio. Cass. Sueton. Appian.

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succession of Trebonius, their discipline was in appearance restored; yet consciousness of the heinous offence they had committed against Cæsar made them doubt of his forgiveness; and, joined with the inclination and respect which they yet entertained for the family of Pompey, determined them to take part against him. They had opened a secret correspondence with Scipio, while he was yet at the head of a powerful army in Africa, and encouraged him to send a proper officer into Spain to take the command of such forces as could be raised in the province.

Young Pompey was sent for this purpose. In his way, he put into the island of Majorca, and was there sometime detained by sickness, or remained in expectation that he might prevail on the natives to espouse his cause. The troops on the continent, in the mean time, even before Pompey arrived to take the command of them, declared themselves openly against Cæsar, and erased his name from their bucklers. They obliged his lieutenant Trebonius to fly from their quarters, and owned T. Quintus Scapula and Q. Aponius for their generals.

In this posture of affairs, young Pompey arrived in Spain, took the command of this army, and either received or forced the submission of the principal towns. He was likewise strengthened by the accession of all the Roman settlers in the province who retained any zeal for the republic, and by the remains of former armies who had been levied by his father, especially such of that army which had served under Afranius on the Segra, as were left in Spain; and by many officers of rank, who, having escaped from Thessaly or Africa upon the late calamities of their party, had taken refuge in this country. Among these, Labienus and Varus, with as many as could be saved from the massacre at Thapsus, were assembling anew under the standard of Pompey. The two brothers, Cnæus and Sextus, were joined together, and supported by the name of their father,

father, which was still in high veneration; they had assembled thirteen legions. Among these, were two legions of native Spaniards, who had deserted from Trebonius; one that was raised from the Roman colonists; and a fourth, which had arrived from Africa, with the elder of the two brothers²⁴.

Q. Fabius Maximus and Q. Pedius or Didius²⁵, the officers of Cæsar, being unable to make head against this force, remained on the defensive, and by the reports which they made to their commander, represented the necessity of his own presence in the province.

The continuance of the Dictatorial power in Cæsar's person, had superseded the usual succession in the offices of state. Lepidus still remained in his station of general of horse; and, with a council of six or nine Præfects being left to command at Rome, Cæsar set out in the autumn for Spain. He ordered troops from Italy to reinforce those already employed in this service, and, in twenty-seven days after his departure from Rome, arrived at Saguntum²⁶.

Upon the news of Cæsar's approach, Cnæus Pompeius had assembled all his force on the Bæotis, posted his brother Sextus with a proper garrison at Corduba, and himself endeavoured to reduce Ulia, a town which still held out against him in that neighbourhood. Cæsar's first object, upon his arrival in Spain, was to preserve this place from falling into the enemy's hands. For this purpose, he detached eleven cohorts under the command of L. Julius Paciaæcus, with orders, if possible, to throw themselves into the town. The night, in which they marched for this purpose, being stormy and dark, they passed the first posts of the besiegers unnoticed. When near the gates, they were challenged; but the officer who led the van,

²⁴ Hirtius de Bell. Hisp.

²⁵ Dio Cass. *ibid.* c. 31.

²⁶ App. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. or as Strabo writes, at Obulio, lib. iii. p. 160.

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having answered in a low voice, that they were a detachment ordered to the foot of the wall in search of some entry, by which, under the cover of the night, they might surprise the garrison, they were suffered to pass; and presenting themselves at one of the gates, upon a signal that had been agreed upon, they were admitted into the town.

While Cæsar thus reinforced the garrison of Ulia, he himself, to make a diversion in their favour, marched up to Corduba, cut off a party that had been sent from thence to observe his motions, and threatened the town with a siege. Sextus, who was in the place, being alarmed, sent pressing representations to his brother, who accordingly abandoned his lines before Ulia, and marched to his relief. Both armies encamped on the Guadalquivir²⁷. The parties that were sent forward by them to scour the country, or to cover their quarters, were engaged in daily skirmishes. But the two brothers being in possession of the principal stations, and in condition to protract the war, continued to act on the defensive. Cæsar, on his part, made some movements in order to disconcert them, and to find, if possible, an opportunity of coming to action; but the country being hilly, and the towns generally built upon heights, every where furnished strong posts for the enemy, and prevented his making any progress.

C. J. Cæsar,
Dict. 3tio.
M. E. Lepidus,
M. E. Coff.
U. C. 708.

The winter at the same time approached, and exposed his army to considerable hardships from the severity of the season, and from the scarcity of provisions. Under these disadvantages, he undertook the siege of Allegua, and on the twentieth of February, after an obstinate resistance, obliged that town to surrender²⁸.

Our accounts of these operations, which are ascribed to Hirtius, and which, with his other performances, are annexed to Cæsar's Commentaries, being less perfect than other parts of the collection, all we

²⁷ The Bætis.

²⁸ Hirtius de Bell. Hisp.

can distinctly learn from them is, that after a variety of different movements, which gave rise to frequent skirmishes, the armies in the month of March came to encamp in the plain of Munda, about five miles from each other; that Cæsar was about to leave his station, when in the morning of his intended departure, he had intelligence, that the enemy had been under arms from the middle of the preceding night, and were meditating some attempt on his camp. This intelligence was followed by the sudden appearance of their army on some elevated grounds near the town of Munda; but as they shewed no disposition to come into the plain, Cæsar, after some hesitation, advanced to attack them.

In the army of Pompey, together with the flower of a warlike people, the natives of Spain, were assembled many veterans of the Roman legions, inured to blood; many Roman citizens of rank, now pushed to despair, or warned, by the fate of their party at Thapsus, not to expect safety from the mercy of a victorious enemy, and not to have any hopes, but in their swords. Under these impressions, they waited for Cæsar's approach with a proper countenance, and on the first onset repulsed and put to flight the troops by whom they were attacked. In this extremity, Cæsar ran into the ranks of his own men; said, *they were delivering him over to boys*; laid hold of a sword and a shield, and calling out that *this then should be the last day of his life, and of their services*, took a place in the ranks as a mere legionary soldier. In this manner he renewed the action, and being reduced to the necessity of animating his men with the example of his own personal valour, committed his fortune and his life to the decision of a contest, in which his ability as an officer could no longer have any share; but while the event was still in suspense, Bogud, an African, commanding a body of horse in his service, having made an attempt to pierce into Pompey's camp, drew Labienus from his post in the field to cover it. This accident turned the fortune:

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tune of the day. The troops, who till then valiantly sustained Cæsar's attack, believing that Labienus deserted them, instantly fled in disorder. The slaughter from thence forward turned as usual intirely against those who fled. Thirty thousand fell upon the field, and among them three thousand Roman citizens of high condition, with Labienus and Attius Varius at their head. Seventeen officers of rank were taken, with thirteen Roman eagles or legionary standards.

Cæsar acknowledged, that having on other occasions fought for victory, he had now been obliged to fight for his life. He had a thousand men killed, and five hundred wounded, before the enemy gave way. Part of the vanquished army retired into the town of Munda, part into the camp, and in their respective posts prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity. Cæsar, on the approach of night, took possession of all the avenues by which either might escape; and it is said, that the troops he employed in this service, instead of traverses of earth or stone to obstruct the highways, raised up mounds of the dead bodies.

Early in the morning of the following day, Cæsar, having left the town of Munda in this manner blocked up or invested, set out for Corduba, which Sextus, the younger of the two brothers, upon the news of the battle, had already abandoned.

Cnæus, on seeing the rout of his own army, fled with a small party of horse on the road to Carteia²³. Here he had collected most of his shipping and naval stores; but the news of his defeat having arrived before him, the people were divided in their inclinations. Part had already sent a deputation with an offer of their services to Cæsar; part still adhered to the family of Pompey, and from these opposite dispositions had proceeded to actual violence and bloodshed

²³ Now Gibraltar.

In the streets. Pompey himself was wounded in one of their scuffles, and expecting no safety in a place, in which so many of the inhabitants had declared against him, he took ship, and put to sea with thirty galleys. He was pursued by Didius, who commanded Cæsar's squadron at Gades; and being obliged in a few days to stop for a supply of water, of which he had been ill provided at his sudden departure from Carteia, he was overtaken, most of his ships destroyed, and he himself obliged to seek for safety on shore. Soon after he landed, he dismissed his attendants, or was deserted by them; and falling into the hands of the enemy, though greatly weakened by his wounds and loss of blood, he continued to defend himself, until he was overpowered and slain. His head, according to the barbarous custom of the times, was sent to the conqueror, and exposed at Hispalis.

In the preceding transactions of the war, every circumstance contributed to the fall of the republic, and to the success of Cæsar. In the very outset of the contest, half the nobility, ruined by prodigality and extravagance, had been desirous of anarchy and confusion. Citizens high in civil rank, and with fortunes intire, were generally glad to forego their political consequence in exchange for ease and safety. Even the arms which should have protected the commonwealth, were in the hands of mere soldiers of fortune, who were inclined to favour that side from which they looked for the establishment of military government; they fought to procure great power and estates for themselves, not to preserve laws which gave property and the security of wealth to others. Many of the Senators indeed perceived the impending ruin, and were prevailed upon to make some efforts for the preservation of the state, but on most occasions too hastily despaired of their cause. It was not thought honourable or safe for a citizen to survive his freedom. Upon this principle,

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the friends of the republic, while they escaped from the enemy, perished by their own hands.

Soon after the action at Munda, Scapula, one of the officers lately at the head of the republican party in Spain, turned the practice of suicide into a kind of farce. Having retired to Corduba from the field of battle, he ordered a magnificent pile of wood to be raised and covered with carpets; and having given an elegant entertainment, and distributed his money among his attendants and servants, he mounted to the top of this fabric, and while one servant pierced the master with his sword, another set fire to the pile. Thus the victories of Cæsar were completed by his enemies; and while he gained a fresh step at every encounter, they who opposed him went headlong, and abandoned their country to its ruin.

The province of Spain, under a proper conduct of its force and resources, if it had not been able to stop at once the career of Cæsar's victories, was surely sufficient to have given him more trouble than any other part of the empire. Its natives brave, and addicted to war, were inferior to the Romans only in policy and discipline. They had been averse to the party of Cæsar, and would not, even in its highest prosperity, prefer it to the cause they had originally espoused. Being mixed with the remains of Roman armies which had been broken and dispersed in the field, they still maintained every place of defence against the conqueror; and, within the walls of cities to which they retired, defended themselves to the last extremity.

Cæsar, having been employed part of the spring and the following summer in subduing this scattered enemy, prepared to leave the province. He assembled the principal inhabitants at Hispalis; and having upbraided them with their animosity to himself and to the Roman People, he put them in mind of his early connection with their country, as Quæstor and as Prætor, and of his repeated good

offices in the capacity of Senator and magistrate; having made a proper establishment for the government of the province, he set out for Italy²⁹, and arrived at Rome in October³⁰. Although it was contrary to the practice of former ages to admit of triumphs where the vanquished were fellow-citizens, he took a triumph for his late victory at Munda; and the more to amuse the People who, whatever be the occasion, are captivated with such exhibitions, he appointed separate triumphs, on the same account, to Q. Fabius Maximus, and to Didius, who had acted under him in that service.

These triumphs, over the supposed last defenders of the public liberty, and over the perishing remains of the family of Pompey, so long respected at Rome, instead of the festivity which they were intended to inspire, were attended with many signs of dejection. But none took upon him to censure, or was qualified to stem, the torrent of servility by which all orders of men were carried. The same succession of games and entertainments were ordered as in the former year. The Senate and People indeed had no longer any concessions to be added to those already made to the conqueror, and it was difficult to refine on the language of adulation, which they had so amply employed in former decrees; but something to distinguish the present situation of affairs, to show the ardour of some to pay their court, and to disguise the discontent and the sorrow of others, was thought necessary on the present occasion. A thanksgiving was appointed, and ordered to continue for fifty days. The anniversary of the twentieth of April, the day on which the news of the victory at Munda was received at Rome, was ordered to be for ever celebrated with games of the

²⁹ Antony had set out from Rome to meet Caesar; but to the great surprise and alarm of every body, returned unexpectedly to Rome. Cicero ad Att. xii. 18. turned under the surprise of an order given by Caesar to oblige him to pay for houses, &c. bought at Pompey's sale. Cicer. Phil. ii. 29 Ibid. xxxi. 29.
³⁰ Velleius Paterculus.

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circus". Even they who felt a secret indignation at the elevation of a single person to act as lord of the commonwealth, concurred, in appearance, with these resolutions in honour of Cæsar". They thought that the full cup was most likely to nauseate, and that extreme provocation was most likely to rouse, the spirits of free men, if any yet remained.

In the concessions which were made to Cæsar, whether suggested by his friends or by his enemies, there was no attempt to preserve any appearance of the republic, or to veil the present usurpation. The Senate, in presenting their several decrees, waited upon him in a body as subjects to acknowledge their sovereign; were received by him on his chair of state, and in all the form of a royal ceremony, stretching forth his hand to each as they approached. While he carried the external show of his elevation to this height, Pontius Aquila, one of the Tribunes, being seated in the exercise of his office, had suffered him, in one of his processions, to pass, without rising from his place. This he greatly resented. "Must I," he said to those who attended him, "resign the government to this Tribune?" And for some days, in granting requests or petitions, he affected to guard his answers ironically, by saying, "Provided that Pontius Aquila will permit". The Consulship was offered to him for ten years, but he declined it, as he destined this and the other offices of State for the gratification of his friends. He himself had assumed the title of Consul in his late triumph, and immediately after resigned it to Q. Fabius Maximus.

Such, from henceforward, was to be the manner of conferring honours under the monarchy of Rome. Families had become noble in consequence of being admitted into the Senate, or in consequence of having borne any of the higher offices of State, such as that of

³¹ Dio. Cassius.³² Plutarch. in Cæsar.³³ Sueton. in Cæsar, c. 78.

Consul or Prætor. Instead of titles, they recited the names of ancestors who had been in these offices, and instead of ensigns armorial, erected the effigies or images of such ancestors. Cæsar, that he might have more frequent opportunities to gratify his retainers, paid no regard to the customary establishment of the Senate, and increased its numbers at pleasure, by inserting in the rolls persons of every description, to the amount of nine hundred. He augmented the number of Prætors to fourteen, and that of Quæstors to forty; and even, without requiring that his friends should pass through these offices, rewarded them at pleasure with the titular honours of Consular, Prætorian, Patrician, &c.²⁴; and extended his munificence likewise to the provinces, by admitting aliens separately, or in collective bodies, to the privilege or appellation of Roman citizens.

In the midst of appearances, which seemed to throw a ridicule on the antient forms of the republic, as well as to substitute a military government in their stead, Cæsar named himself, together with Mark Antony, as Consuls for the following year. This compliment paid to the civil establishment, by condescending to bear the name of legal office, though very illegally assumed, flattered the citizens with hopes that he meant to govern under some form of a republic²⁵. Nothing, however, followed from these appearances; the state which he affected, his dress, his laurel wreath, the colour and height of his buskins, the very seal which he chose to make use of, being the impression of a Venus armed, in ostentation of his supposed celestial extraction; the numerous guards and retinue, exceeding two thousand men, with which he was constantly attended²⁶; the satisfaction with which he seemed to receive the forced servility of those whom his sword had subdued, betrayed a mind which, though possessed of real superiority, had not sufficient elevation to disdain the false appearances of it.

²⁴ Dio. Cass. lib. xliii. c. 47.

²⁵ Appian.

²⁶ Cicer. ad Att. lib. xiii. ep. 52.

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On the last day of the year, Q. Fabius Maximus, who had been a few months Consul, died before he had vacated the office; and about noon of the same day, Cæsar, who had assembled the Tribes, ordered them to take the form of the Centuries, and to elect Caninius Consul for the remainder of the day. Plutarch says, That Cicero exhorted the People to be speedy in paying their court to this new Consul: "for this magistrate may be out of office before we can reach him." Cicero himself, referring to this farcical election, writes in a letter to one of his friends, "We have had a Consulate, during which no one either ate or drank, and yet nothing extraordinary happened; for so great was the vigilance of this officer, that he never slept all the time he was in office. You may laugh at these things," he says; "but if you were here, you would cry."

U. C. 709.
C. J. Cæsar,
Dict. 4to.
M. E. Lepi-
dus, M.E.C.
Octavius,
Mag. Eq.
Cn. Domiti-
us Calvinus
in sequentem
annum desig-
natus non
iniit.

On the following day, Cæsar, with all the powers and ensigns of Dictator, took possession of the Consulate in conjunction with Antony. He intended, after having held this office for a few days in his own person, to resign it in favour of Dolabella, though a young man, still far short of the legal age. The execution of this intention, however, was some time delayed at the request of Mark Antony, who, being jealous of Dolabella, endeavoured to obstruct his preferment.

Cæsar himself passed the winter in assiduous application to civil affairs, and in forming projects to embellish the capital, and to aggrandise the empire. He made some regulations for the better government of the city. Under this title may be reckoned his prohibiting the use of litters, of purple, and of pearls, except to persons of a certain rank, and to them only at great festivals, and on re-

³⁷ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. vii. ep. 30. Ita Consulatū somnū non viderit. Hæc tibi rī-
Caninio Consule scito, nemine prandisse. dicula videntur: non enim adis. Quæ si
Nihil tamen eo Consule mali factum est. videris lachrymas non teneres.
Fuit enim mirifica vigilantia qui toto suo

markable occasions; together with his reviving the antient sumptuary laws respecting the expence of the table. For the better execution of these laws, he appointed inspectors of the markets, with orders to seize all illicit articles of provision; and if any thing of this sort were known to escape the inspectors, he sent officers to seize them from the tables on which they were served. To check the luxury of the times in other articles, he imposed duties on the importation of foreign commodities.

Under the ordinary pretence, that the laws were become too voluminous, he ordered them to be digested into a code, with a view to simplify and to reduce them into a narrower compass; in this measure attempting a reformation which mankind, in certain situations, generally wish for, but which no man can accomplish without the possession of absolute power.

In the same spirit of despotical government, with which Cæsar abridged the laws, he acted at once as legislator and as a judge. As instances of his severity in the latter capacity, it is mentioned, that he annulled a marriage, because it had been contracted no more than two days after the woman had parted from a former husband; and to this he joined his punishing Senators for extortion in the provinces, by expulsion from the Senate.

His mind, at the same time, entertained projects of great variety and extent. To drain the great marshes which rendered the air so unhealthy, and so much land unserviceable in the neighbourhood of Rome; to cut across the isthmus of Corinth, to erect moles, and form harbours on the coast of Italy; to make highways across the Apennines; to build a new theatre that should exceed that of Pompey; to erect public libraries, and make a navigable canal from the Anio and the Tiber to the sea at Teracina; to build a magnificent temple to Mars. These projects are justly mentioned as meritorious in the sovereign of a great empire; and it must be confessed, that

power.

power would be but a wretched possession, if there were not something of this sort to be done after the toils of ambition were over.

The measure which of all others contributed most to the honour of Cæsar, did we suppose him intitled to the powers he assumed, was the general indemnity which he granted to all who had opposed him. Some he even employed in the administration of government, and promoted in the State. He placed Caius Cassius and Marcus Brutus, for this year, on the list of Prætors, and entrusted them with the higher jurisdiction of the city. To the widows of many who died in opposition to himself, he restored their portions, and gave their children part of their patrimony³⁸. He replaced the statues of Sylla and of Pompey, which the populace, in flattery to himself, had thrown down; "and by this means," says Cicero, "he firmly established his own."

It appeared, on many occasions, that Cæsar meant to contrast his own conduct with that of Sylla³⁹; his own clemency with the bloody executions performed by the other. The comparison, no doubt, is curious, and must occur to every person who reads their story. Sylla had been excited, by extreme provocations, to turn his arms against a party in possession of the capital, and he drew his sword to punish injuries done no less to the republic than to himself. While he was master of the State, he acted indeed like a person who did not care how odious he rendered despotical power, for he did not mean to retain it. But he mixed, with the resentment of a personal enemy, the high views of a noble citizen, who proposed to reform the State by clearing it of many corrupted and dangerous members. When he had accomplished this purpose, he disdained the pageantry

³⁸ Sueton. Dio. lib. xliii.

³⁹ Quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt neque victoriam diutius tenere, præter unum L. Syllam quem imita-

turus non sum. Hæc nova fit ratio vincendi, ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus. Cicer. ad Att. lib. ix. ep. 7.

of high station, was above receiving the adulation which proceeds from servility, or wishing to enjoy a continual precedence in the management of affairs, which requires no extraordinary capacity. Embarked by fortune on a tempestuous sea, when he had conducted the vessel safe into port, he quitted the helm; and after having been master, was not afraid to place himself among his countrymen as a fellow-citizen; and in this state of equality his greatness of mind secured to him a distinction, which no degree of precedence, and no measure of prerogative, could have bestowed.

To this character that of Cæsar, in many particulars, may be fairly considered as a contrast. He himself had stirred up the disorders which produced the civil war in which he engaged. He had no injuries either public or private to resent; his affected clemency, in sparing a few captives, in the beginning or in the course of his operations, was belied by the wantonness with which he entered on a war, in which the blood of many thousands of his fellow-citizens was to be unnecessarily shed⁴⁰. If he had been reluctant in the shedding of blood, his mercy would have appeared, in avoiding so destructive a contest, not in ostentatiously sparing a few of the many whose lives his wanton ambition brought into hazard. His clemency should have appeared at the Rubicon, not at Corfinium; in leaving his country to enjoy its liberties, not merely in sparing those whom no man in his senses would destroy, a people who were willing to submit, and whom he desired to govern.

Cæsar used to ridicule the resignation of Sylla as an act of imbecility⁴¹, and was himself fond of precedence as well as of power. The degree of vanity which he is said to have indulged, in accepting the frivolous honours which were now conferred upon him by acts of the Senate, is indeed scarcely credible. Among these is mentioned a

⁴⁰ It is said that 400,000 Romans perished in this contest.

⁴¹ Syllam nescisse literas qui dictatorem deposuerit. Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. lib. lxxvii.

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decree that he should have precedence of all magistrates, and the privilege of being always dressed in the triumphal robes; of having a gilded chair of state, and a place of distinction at all the public games; that he should be allowed to deposit a suit of armour in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, an honour appropriated to those who, like Romulus, had killed, with their own hands, a leader of the enemy; that his lictors should have their fasces always bound with laurel; that himself, in coming from the Latin festivals, should enter the city on horseback; that he should have the title of Father of his Country, and be so designed on the coins; that the anniversary of his birth-day should be kept as a festival; that statues should be erected to him in all the towns of Italy, and in the temples of the city; that the statues, without any consideration of his titles to these honours, should be adorned with the civic and obsidionary crowns; the first a badge worn by those who had saved a fellow-citizen in battle, the second by those who had delivered the city itself from a siege*.

The Senate and People observing, that these distinctions were agreeable to Cæsar, subjoined, that his robe should be cut in imitation of that of the ancient kings of Rome; that he should have an escort of Knights and Senators; that it should be permitted to swear by his destiny; that all his decrees, without exception, should be ratified; that, at the end of five years, a festival should be held in honour of him, as of a person of divine extraction; that an additional college of Priests should be established to perform the rites which were instituted for that occasion; that, in all gladiatorial sports, whether at Rome or in the provincial towns, one day should be dedicated to him; that a crown of gold, set with gems, like those of the Gods, should be carried before him into the Circus, attended with a thesaurus or car like that on which the idols of the Gods were carried; that he

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 4.

should

should have the title of Julian Jove, have a temple erected for himself, in conjunction with the Goddess of Clemency; and, to complete the ridicule of these institutions, that Mark Antony should be appointed the priest of this sacred fane⁴³.

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From these particulars, which, to characterise the ambition of the person to whom they refer, and the manners of the age, are selected from those mentioned by the original historian⁴⁴, it was no longer to be doubted, that Cæsar wished to establish a monarchy on the ruins of the republic. He himself was extremely arrogant in his behaviour, and so unguarded in his expressions, as to say, That the republic was but a name, that his words should be carefully observed, for that he meant every word should have the force of a law.

To so much arrogance and affectation of kingly state, joined to absolute power, nothing was wanting but the title of King. This Cæsar himself evidently appeared to have the vanity to desire. His retainers and flatterers, on different occasions, endeavoured to surprise the People into a concession of it; but notwithstanding the powers of Sovereign, which he exercised without controul, and the honours of Divinity, which were decreed to him by general consent, his influence was not sufficient to reconcile the Roman People to the name of King. One of his emissaries, willing to suggest the propriety of bestowing this title, or to insinuate Cæsar's purpose of assuming it, had bound the head of one of his statues with a royal fillet. The Tribunes Marullus and Cæsetius, affecting great zeal for the honour of Cæsar, as well as for the majesty of the Roman State, made inquiry after the author of an insinuation so derogatory to both; and receiving information of the guilty person, in order to check such insinuations for the future, sent him to prison. This officious interposition of the Tribunes, though pretending to vindicate Cæsar himself from so odious anim-

⁴³ Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 6.⁴⁴ Ibid.

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putation, he received with marks of displeasure; and hearing these officers extolled as the restorers of the public liberty with the appellation of the *Bruti*, "Brutes indeed," he said they were; but took no farther notice of the matter.

Soon after this incident, some one, or a few in the assembly of the People, saluted him with the title of King. But on hearing, instead of acclamations, a general murmur of dislike, he silenced this unseasonable piece of flattery, saying, That his name was *Cæsar*, and not *King*. Here too the Tribunes again interposed, and raised prosecutions against the authors of such treasonable expressions. But in this instance Cæsar lost his patience, and complained in the Senate, that factious men, under the pretence of discharging the public office of magistracy, propagated insinuations injurious to his character, and tending to alarm the People with false apprehensions. Such offences, he said, merit capital punishment; but he should be satisfied with degradation from their office. This sentence was accordingly inflicted; and from thenceforward it was not doubted, that Cæsar aspired to the title, as well as the power of a monarch.

This opinion was still farther confirmed, when, on the sixteenth of February*, at the *Lupercalia* (a festival, which being continued down from barbarous ages, served as a monument of primæval simplicity and rudeness), the same piece of flattery, in making tender of a crown, was renewed by Antony, then in the office of Consul, and the chief confident of Cæsar.

It was the custom in this festival of the *Lupercalia*, for the first officers of State, and the first of the Nobles, to present themselves naked in the streets, carrying thongs of undressed hide, with which they ran through the crowd, and struck at those who happened to be placed within their reach. The stroke was thought a remedy, in

* Cicer. Philip. ii. c. 34.

particular,

particular, for barrenness in women; and numbers of this sex crowded in the way to receive it.

In the ceremony now to be performed, Mark Antony bore his part as Consul; and Cæsar sat on his gilded chair of state in his triumphal robes to behold the spectacle. Antony stopped before him, and presented him with a royal crown, saying, "This crown the Roman People confer upon Cæsar by my hands." A few of the spectators seemed to applaud; but Cæsar, perceiving that the People in general, by their silence, gave signs of displeasure, pushed away the crown with his hand; and upon this action, received from the People, by an universal shout of applause, an unquestionable explanation of their former silence.

To try the effect of a moderation which was so much applauded, Antony threw himself upon the ground at Cæsar's feet, repeated his offer of the crown, and hoped that the People might join him in pressing the acceptance of what was so modestly refused; but with no better success than in the former attempt.

That the merit of this refusal, however, might not be forgotten, or that the offer might be held equal to the actual investiture of the crown, an entry was made in the Fasti or public records, by the directions of Antony, "That the Consul having, by the order of the Roman People, presented a crown, and offered to confer the majesty of King on Caius Julius Cæsar, perpetual Dictator, he had declined to receive it."

The Roman republic had, for some time, subsisted a very disorderly state; the People having dominion over many other nations, scarcely admitted any species of government among themselves. The inhabitants of Rome, assuming the prerogatives of the collective body of Roman citizens, who now not only extended over all Italy, but were dispersed throughout the empire, generally assembled in tumults, whose

⁴³ Cicer. Philip. ii. c. 34.

proceedings nothing but force could regulate, and at every convulsion gave an immediate prospect of military government. All who wished to preserve the republic, endeavoured to extend the prerogatives of the Senate, and to prevent, as much as possible, these ill-formed assemblies of the People from deliberating on matters of State; and it might, no doubt, have been still better for the empire, if the spirit of legal monarchy could at once have been infused into every part of the commonwealth; or if, without further pangs or convulsions, the authority of a prince, tempered with that of a Senate, had been firmly established. But men do not at once change their habits and opinions, nor yield their own pretensions upon speculative notions of what is suited to the state of the country. Cæsar aspired to dominion in order to gratify his personal vanity, not to correct the political errors of the times; and his contemporaries, born to the rights of citizens, still contended for personal independence and equality, however impossible it might be longer to preserve any species of republic at the head of such an empire.

Ever since the expulsion of Tarquin, the name of King had been odious at Rome. The most popular citizens, as soon as they became suspected of aspiring to kingly power, became objects of aversion, and were marked out as a prey to the detestation of their country. Thus fell Manlius Capitolinus, the Gracchi, Apuleius, and others who were loaded with this imputation.

The Romans, accustomed to see vanquished kings the sport of popular insolence, led in triumph, put to death; or, if suffered to live, made to languish in poverty and neglect—accustomed to see kings, who were their own allies, submitting their cause to the judgment of the Roman People, or suing for favour, considered monarchy itself as an appurtenance of servility and barbarism; and the project to give a king to the Romans as an attempt to degrade them into barbarians and slaves.

The maxim, which forbids assassination in every case whatever, is the result of prudent reflection, and has a tendency to allay the jealousy, and to mitigate the cruelty of persons, who, by violent usurpations, which laws cannot restrain, have incurred the resentment of mankind. Even tyrants, it is supposed, are cruel from fear, and become merciful in proportion as they believe themselves secure; it were unwise, therefore, to entertain maxims which keep the powerful in a continual state of distrust and alarm. This prudential morality, however, was intirely unknown in the antient republics, or could not be observed, without surrendering the freedom for which the citizens contended. Amongst them the People were obliged to consider, not what was safe, but what was necessary; and could not always defend themselves against usurpations, neither by legal forms, nor by open war. It was thought allowable, therefore, to employ artifice, surprise, and secret conspiracy against an usurper; and this was so much the case at Rome, that no names were held in greater veneration, than those of citizens who had assassinated persons suspected of views dangerous to the commonwealth; or who, by any means whatever, rendered abortive the projects of adventurers who attempted to arm any party against the legal constitution of their country.

Cæsar, having attempted to join the title of King with the powers of perpetual Dictator, had reason to distrust a People who were actuated by such conceptions. He was an object of private as well as of public resentment, having usurped the government over those whom he had cruelly injured; over the fathers, the brothers, and sons of those who had fallen by his sword. He accordingly, for some time, had the precaution to keep a military guard attending his person; but, grown familiar with those he had offended, and secure in his personal courage, he dropt this precaution, and began to reign with the confidence of a lawful monarch. Although he had incurred so much resentment, he disdained to stand in awe of it, and ventured to join the confidence

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confidence of innocence with the highest measures of guilt. This conduct indeed was uncommon, and the effect of a daring courage, but unworthy of the penetration and skill with which he had hitherto conducted his affairs. It may serve to confirm, what has been already been observed, that, amongst the many accomplishments which he possessed, and together with the abilities which rendered him superior to every direct opposition, he was actuated by a vanity which bordered on weakness. Misled, perhaps, by this passion, he persisted in his emulation to the glory of Sylla, and would show to the world, that he who had not resigned his power could walk the streets of Rome, unattended, with as much safety as the other, who had had the magnanimity to restore the constitution of his country; joined to this weakness, he had too mean an opinion of those who composed the commonwealth, greatly sunk indeed in their political characters, but not fallen into that state of personal weakness, which his security and contempt of them seemed to imply.

Above sixty citizens of noble extraction were found, who thought their late condition as members of the republic could still be recovered. Some had been stunned with their fall, but not quite overwhelmed; others, who, on specious pretences, had assisted in obtaining the victories of Cæsar, detested the monarchy which he was pleased to assume. In the first period of the civil war many imagined, that the contest was to end in substituting one party for another, not in the intire subversion of the republican government; and they were inclined, as soon as fortune should declare in favour of either party, to be reconciled with those that prevailed⁴⁶. But when it evidently appeared, that Cæsar, by suppressing the last remains of opposition to himself in every part of the empire, meant to establish a monarchy in his own person, a secret indignation filled the breasts of those who, upon a foot of family

⁴⁶ Cicero ad Familiar.

consequence, or personal ability, had any pretensions to political importance. To such persons the dominion of an equal appeared insufferable. Many of them affected servility, in conferring the extravagant honours which had been decreed to Cæsar, as the mask of a sullen displeasure, which, conscious of a tendency to betray itself, took the disguise of the opposite extreme.

The question respecting the expedience of monarchical government, did not enter into the deliberations of any one. If it had been urged, that a King was necessary; it would have been asked, Who gave the right to Cæsar? If the People in general were corrupt, were the bankrupts, and outlaws, and soldiers of fortune that formed the court of Cæsar unblemished? If the great, the able, and experienced citizens, who were qualified to support the republic, were now no more, by whose sword had they perished? or who was to blame for the ruin that had befallen the commonwealth? If the corrupt arts, the treasons, the murders, encouraged or executed by Cæsar, had made a change of government necessary, the first act of that new government, for the instruction of mankind, ought to have been to punish the author of so many disorders and crimes, not to reward him with a crown.

Many of Cæsar's officers, and the nearest to his person, were as much in this mind as any other citizens; and on this supposition, so familiar was the thought of proceeding to the last extremities against him, that, when Antony came to meet Cæsar on his return from Spain, Trebonius ventured to sound his inclinations respecting a design on Cæsar's life⁴⁶. Although Antony did not adopt the measure, he did not betray Trebonius, nor did he appear to be surprised at the proposal. It was afterwards suggested, that Antony should be invited to a share in the conspiracy; and the proposal was dropt

⁴⁶ Cicer. Philip. iii. c. 14.

only on account of the refusal which he had already given to Trebonius; so readily was it believed, that every noble Roman would rather share in the government of his country, as an independent citizen, than as a retainer to the most successful usurper.

It is well known, that a conspiracy accordingly was, at this time, formed against the life of Cæsar, although the first steps and the consultations of the parties are no where minutely recorded. The principal authors of it were Caius Cassius and Marcus Brutus, then Prætors in the city; Decimus Brutus and Trebonius, who had both served in high rank under Cæsar himself, and of whom the first was destined by him to the command in Cisalpine Gaul, and to the Consulate in the following year.

Caius Cassius was early noted for a high and impetuous spirit. It is observed, that, being a boy when Sylla was at the height of his power, he struck the son of the Dictator for having said, That his father was the master of the Roman People. The tutor of young Sylla having carried a complaint to Pompey, the boys were called, and questioned on the subject of the quarrel, "Do but repeat your words again," said Cassius; "and in this presence I will strike you." He had distinguished himself in Syria by collecting the remains of the unfortunate army of Crassus, with which he repelled the attempt of the Parthians on that province. He followed Pompey in the civil war, and commanded a squadron of the fleet on the coast of Sicily at the time of the battle of Pharsalia. From thence he went into Asia, with a professed intention to wait for the arrival of the victor from Alexandria, and to drop all further opposition against him; but even then, according to Cicero, would have put Cæsar to death, if he had not debarked on a different side of the Cydnus, from that on which he was at first expected to land⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ Cicer. Philip. ii. c. 11.

Marcus Brutus was the nephew of Cato by his sister Servilia; and so much the favourite of Caesar, who was said to have had an intrigue with his mother, that he was by some supposed to be his son. The father of Brutus, in the civil wars of Sylla, had been on the side of Marius, and having fallen into Pompey's hands, was by him put to death. The son retained so much resentment on this account, that he never acknowledged or saluted Pompey till after the civil war broke out; when, thinking it necessary to sacrifice all private considerations to the public cause, he joined him in Macedonia, and was received with great marks of distinction. This young man, either on account of his uncle Cato, or on account of the expectation generally entertained of himself, was held in the highest estimation. Being taken prisoner at the battle of Pharsalia, he was not only protected by the victor, but sent into the province of Cisalpine Gaul with the title of Governor; where, during the war in Africa against Scipio and the king of Numidia, he remained, perhaps, rather under safe custody than in high confidence with Caesar. He was this year, together with Caius Cassius, who married his sister, promoted to the dignity of Prætor; and though of less standing than Cassius, had the precedence by the partiality of Caesar. This circumstance was supposed, at the time, that Brutus and Cassius were actually framing their conspiracy, to have occasioned a breach between them.

Cassius is reported to have been the prime mover in the design against Caesar's life; and to have been the author of anonymous calls to vindicate the freedom of Rome, which were posted up or dropt in public places; and which, from the prevailing spirit of discontent, found a ready acceptance. Labels were hung upon the statues of the ancient Brutus, and billets were dropt, in the night, upon the judgment-seat of the Prætor of this name, exciting him to imitate his ancestors, by restoring the republic: "You sleep, you are not Brutus:" and on the statues of his

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supposed ancestor, the elder Brutus, was written, "Would you were alive!" These expressions of a secret disaffection, and prognostics of some violent design, either escaped the attention of Cæsar, or were despised by him; but were easily understood by persons who looked for a deliverance from the indignities to which they felt themselves exposed. While Cassius and Marcus Brutus entered into a formal concert on this subject, numbers pined under the want of that consideration to which they thought themselves born; many were provoked by particular instances of vanity or arrogance in the present Dictator; and upon the least hint of a design against him, were ready to join. "I am sorry you should be ill at so critical a time," said Brutus to Legarius. "I am not ill," said the other, "if you have any intentions worthy of yourself!"

Great numbers daily acceded to the plot, of whom the following, besides Brutus and Cassius, are the principal names upon record: Cæcilius and Bucolianus, two brothers, Rubrius Rex, Q. Ligarius, M. Spurius, Servilius Galba, Sextius Naso, Pontius Aquila. These had ever been on the side of the Senate, or adherents of Pompey. The following had acted in the war under Cæsar; Decimus Brutus, C. Casca, Trebonius, Tullius Cimber, Minucius, and Basilus; they are said in all to have amounted to sixty. Cicero was known to detest the

Cæsar had, about this time, a visit from the queen of Egypt, who lived with him at his gardens on the Tiber (Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xiv.). Many who overlooked his usurpation, and the violence he did to the constitution of his country, were scandalized at the intimacy in which he lived with this woman. Being accustomed to the distinctions of a court, and considering Cæsar as the monarch, she treated the citizens, who were still admitted to him on a foot of equality, as dependents and subjects. He himself, with all his state, was polite. As

an apology for having made Cicero wait too long in his anti-chamber, he accosted him with saying, "How can I hope to be tolerated, when even Marcus Tullius Cicero is made to wait? If any one could forgive it, he would; but the world must detest me." Cleopatra, it is probable, made no such apology when she gave cause to complain of her arrogance.

⁴⁰ Sueton. in Cæsare.

⁴¹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. II.

⁴² Sueton. in Cæsare.

usurpation

usurpation of Caesar; to mourn over the fall of the commonwealth, over the humiliation of the Senate, and the diminution of his own political consequence; but he was not consulted in this design. The authors of it relied on his support, in case they should be successful; but they knew too well his ingenuity in suggesting scruples and difficulties, to bring him into their previous deliberations on so arduous an enterprize.

The conspirators, in forming their project, generally sounded the minds of persons before they made any formal or direct proposal. Brutus being in company with Statilius, Favonius, and Labio, proposed, among other problematical questions, some doubts concerning the expediency of assassinating tyrants. Favonius observed, that such actions led to civil war, and that this was worse than usurpation. Statilius said, that no wise man would engage in so hazardous an enterprize to serve a parcel of knaves and fools. Labio contended warmly with both; and Brutus changing the subject, thought no more of Statilius or Favonius, but communicated the design to Labio, who immediately embraced it.

As so many were concerned, and as they remained some time in suspense as to the proper time and place for the execution of their purpose, it is singular that the conspiracy should have come to such a height undiscovered. But Caesar did not encourage informers; his great courage preserved him from the jealousies by which others in less dangerous situations are guided. He trusted to his popularity, to his munificence, to the professions of submission which were made to him, and to the interest which he supposed many to have in the preservation of his life. He had not only dismissed the guards, which at his return to Rome had attended him; and was commonly preceded only by his Lictors and the usual retinue of his civil rank; but had suffered the veterans to disperse on the lands which had been assigned to them, unfurnished Italy of troops, and had transported

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transported the greater part of the army into Macedonia, reserving only a small body under Lepidus in the suburbs of Rome. His own mind, though fond of appearances of superiority, it is probable, was easily fatiated with the pageantry of state. His thoughts became vacant and languid in the possession of a station to which he had struggled through so much blood; and his active mind still urged him to extensive projects of war and conquest⁵³. He accordingly planned a series of wars which were not likely to end but with his life. He was to begin with revenging the death of Crassus, and reducing the Parthians. He was next to pass by Hyrcania and the coasts of the Caspian Sea into Scythia; from thence, by the shores of the Euxine Sea, into Sarmacia, Dacia, and Germany; and from thence, by his own late conquests in Gaul, to return into Italy⁵⁴; for this purpose he had already sent forward into Macedonia seventeen legions and ten thousand horse⁵⁵.

As Cæsar was likely, whatever may have been the extent of his projects, to be employed some time in the execution of them, he thought proper to anticipate the election of magistrates at Rome, and to arrange, before his departure, the whole succession to office for some years. Dion Cassius says, that his arrangement was made for three years; Appian, for five years. It is certain, that he fixed the succession to office for two subsequent years. Hirtius and Pansa were destined to the Consulship in the first; Decimus Brutus and Plancus in the second⁵⁶. He continued to increase the number of magistrates, that he might have more opportunities to gratify his retainers and friends. The Quæstors, as has been mentioned, he augmented to forty, the Ædiles to six, the Prætors to sixteen. Among the latter he named Ventidius, a native of Picenum, who had been taken and led in triumph, while the people of that district, with the other

⁵³ Dio. Cass. Appian. Plutarch.⁵⁴ Plutarch. in Cæsar.⁵⁵ Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.⁵⁶ Cicero ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 6.

Italians, on account of their claim of being inrolled as citizens, were at war with Rome. Ventidius had subsisted by letting mules and carriages. In the pursuit of this business he had followed the army of Cæsar into Gaul; and becoming known to that general, was gradually trusted and advanced by him. His career of preferment continued up to the dignity of Consul, and he himself, as has been formerly observed, came at last to lead, in the capacity of a victorious general, a procession of the same kind with that in which he had made his first entry at Rome as a captive.

This arrangement, in which Cæsar, by anticipating the nomination of magistrates, precluded the citizens from the usual exercise of their rights of election, made the subversion of the republic more felt than any of the former acts of his power, and gave the leaders of the conspiracy a great advantage against him. The prospect of his approaching departure from Rome, which was fixed for the month of March, urged the speedy execution of their purpose. The report of a response or prediction, which some of the flatterers of Cæsar had procured from the college of Augurs, bearing that the Parthians were not to be subdued but by a king³⁷, appeared to be the prelude of a motion to vest him, in his intended expedition against the Parthians, with the title, and with the ensigns of royalty, to be borne, if not in the city, at least in the provinces³⁸.

A meeting of the Senate being already summoned, for the Ides, or fifteenth, of March, the proposal to bestow on Cæsar the title of King, as a qualification enjoined by the Sybils to make war on the Parthians, was expected to be the principal business of the assembly. This circumstance determined the conspirators in the choice of a place for the execution of their design. They had formerly deliberated, whether to pitch upon the Campus Martius, and to strike their blow

³⁷ Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 15.

³⁸ Zonaras, lib. x. c. 14.

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in the presence of the Roman People assembled, or in the entry to the theatre, or in a street through which Cæsar often passed in the way to his own house". But this meeting of the Senate seemed now to present the most convenient place, and the most favourable opportunity. The presence of the Senate, it was supposed, would render the action of the conspirators sufficiently awful and solemn; the common cause would be instantly acknowledged by all the members of that body; and the execution done would be justified under their authority. If any were disposed to resist, they were not likely to be armed; and the affair might be ended by the death of Cæsar alone, or without any effusion of blood beyond that which was originally intended.

It was at first proposed that Antony, being likely to carry on the same military usurpations which Cæsar had begun, should be taken off at the same time; but this was over-ruled. It was supposed that Antony, and every other Senator and citizen, would readily embrace the state of independence and personal consideration which was to be offered to them; or if they should not embrace it, they would not be of sufficient numbers or credit to distress the republic, or to upset that balance of parties in which the freedom of the whole consisted. It was supposed that the moment Cæsar fell, there would not be any one left to covet or to support an usurpation which had been so unfortunate in his person. "If we do any thing more than is necessary to set the Romans at liberty," said Marcus Brutus, "we shall be thought to act from private resentment, and to intend restoring the party of Pompey, not the republic."

The intended assembly of the Senate was to be held in one of the recesses of Pompey's theatre. It was determined by the conspirators, that they should repair to this meeting as usual, either separately, or

⁸⁸ Sueton. in Cæsare.

⁸⁹ Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 15.

in the retinue of the Consuls and Prætors; and that, being armed with concealed weapons, they should proceed to the execution of their purpose as soon as Cæsar had taken his seat. To guard against any disturbance or tumult that might arise to frustrate their intentions, Decimus Brutus, who was master of a troop of gladiators, undertook to have this troop, under pretence of exhibiting some combats on that day to the people, posted in the theatre, and ready at his command for any service.

During the interval of suspense which preceded the meeting of the Senate, although in public Brutus seemed to perform all the duties of his station with an unaltered countenance; at home he was less guarded, and frequently appeared to have something uncommon on his mind. His wife Porcia suspected that some arduous design respecting the State was in agitation; and when she questioned him, was confirmed in this apprehension, by his eluding her inquiries. Thinking herself, by her extraction and by her alliance, intitled to confidence, she bore this appearance of distrust with regret; and, under the idea that the secret which was withheld from her, must be such as, upon any suspicion, might occasion the torture to be employed to force a confession; and supposing that she herself was distrusted more on account of the weakness than of the indiscretion of her sex, she determined to make a trial of her own strength, before she desired that the secret should be communicated to her. For this purpose she gave herself a wound in the thigh, and while it festered, and produced acute pain and fever, she endeavoured to preserve her usual countenance, without any sign of suffering or distress. Being satisfied with this trial of her own strength, she told her husband the particulars, and with some degree of triumph added, "*Now you may trust me; I am the wife of Brutus and the daughter of Cato; keep me no longer in doubt or suspense upon any subject in which I too must*

^a Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 15.

^b *be*

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"be so deeply concerned." The circumstance of her wound, the pretensions which she otherwise had to confidence, drew the secret from her husband, and undoubtedly from thenceforward, by the passions which were likely to agitate the mind of a tender and affectionate woman, exposed the design to additional hazard of a discovery and of a failure.

But the morning of the Ides of March, the day on which this conspiracy was to be executed, arrived, and there was yet no suspicion. The conspirators had been already together at the house of one of the Prætors. Cassius was to present his son that morning to the people, with the ceremony usual in assuming the habit of manhood; and he was, upon this account, to be attended by his friends into the place of assembly. He was afterwards, together with Brutus, in their capacity of magistrates, employed, as usual, in giving judgment on the causes that were brought before them. As they sat in the Prætor's chair they received intimation that Cæsar, having been indisposed over-night, was not to be abroad; and that he had commissioned Antony, in his name, to adjourn the Senate to another day. Upon this report, they suspected a discovery; and while they were deliberating what should be done, Popilius Lenas, a Senator whom they had not entrusted with their design, whispered them as he passed, "I pray that God may prosper what you have in view. Above all things dispatch." Their suspicions of a discovery being thus still further confirmed, the intention soon after appeared to be public. An acquaintance told Casca, "You have concealed this business from me, but Brutus told me of it." They were struck with surprise; but Brutus presently recollected that he had mentioned to this person no more than Casca's intention of standing for Ædile, and that the words which he spoke probably referred only to that business; they accordingly determined to wait the issue of these alarms.

^a Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

In the mean time Cæsar, at the persuasion of Decimus Brutus, C H A P.
I. though once determined to remain at home, had changed his mind, and was already in the streets, being carried to the Senate in his litter. Soon after he had left his own house, a slave came thither in haste, desired protection, and said he had a secret of the greatest moment to impart. He had probably overheard the conspirators, or had observed that they were armed; but not being aware how pressing the time was, he suffered himself to be detained till Cæsar's return. Others, probably, had observed circumstances which led to a discovery of the plot, and Cæsar had a billet to this effect given to him as he passed in the streets; he was intreated by the person who gave it instantly to read it; and he endeavoured to do so, but was prevented by the multitudes who crowded around him with numberless applications; and he still carried this paper in his hand when he entered the Senate.

Brutus and most of the conspirators had taken their places a little while before the arrival of Cæsar, and continued to be alarmed by many circumstances which tended to shake their resolution. Porcia, in the same moments, being in great agitation, exposed herself to public notice. She listened with anxiety to every noise in the streets; she dispatched, without any pretence of business, continual messages towards the place where the Senate was assembled; she asked every person who came from that quarter if they observed what her husband was doing. Her spirit at last sunk under the effect of such violent emotions; she fainted away, and was carried for dead into her apartment. A message came to Brutus in the Senate with this account. He was much affected, but kept his place^a. Popilius Lænas, who a little before seemed, from the expression he had dropped, to have got notice of their design, appeared to be in earnest conversation with Cæsar, as he lighted from his carriage. This left the

^a Plut. in Brut.

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conspirators no longer in doubt that they were discovered; and they made signs to each other, that it would be better to die by their own hands than to fall into the power of their enemy. But they saw of a sudden the countenance of Lænas change into a smile, and perceived that his conversation with Cæsar could not relate to such a business as theirs.

Cæsar's chair of state had been placed near to the pedestal of Pompey's statue. Numbers of the conspirators had seated themselves around it. Trebonius, under pretence of business, had taken Antony aside at the entrance of the theatre. Cimber, who, with others of the conspirators, met Cæsar in the portico, presented him with a petition in favour of his brother, who had been excepted from the late indemnity; and in urging the prayer of this petition, attended the Dictator to his place. Having there received a denial from Cæsar, uttered with some expressions of impatience at being so much importuned, he took hold of his robe, as if to press the intreaty. *Nay, said Cæsar, this is violence.* While he spoke these words, Cimber flung back the gown from his shoulders; and this being the signal agreed upon, called out to strike. Casca aimed the first blow. Cæsar started from his place, and in the first moment of surprise, pushed Cimber with one arm, and laid hold of Casca with the other. But he soon perceived that resistance was vain; and while the swords of the conspirators clashed with each other, in their way to his body, he wrapped himself up in his gown, and fell without any farther struggle. It was observed, in the superstition of the times, that in falling, the blood which sprung from his wounds sprinkled the pedestal of Pompey's statue. And thus having employed the greatest abilities to subdue his fellow citizens, with whom it would have been a much greater honour to have been able to live on terms of equality, he fell, in the height of his security, a sacrifice to their just indignation; a striking example

example of what the arrogant have to fear in trifling with the feelings of a free people, and at the same time a lesson of jealousy and of cruelty to tyrants, or an admonition not to spare, in the exercise of their power, those whom they may have insulted by usurping it. CHAP.
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When the body lay breathless on the ground, Cassius called out, that there lay the worst of men⁶¹. Brutus called upon the Senate to judge of the transaction which had passed before them, and was proceeding to state the motives of those who were concerned in it, when the members, who had for a moment stood in silent amazement, rose on a sudden, and began to separate in great consternation. All those who had come to the Senate in the train of Cæsar, his Lictors, the ordinary officers of State, citizens and foreigners, with many servants and dependants of every sort, had been instantly seized with a panic; and as if the swords of the conspirators were drawn against themselves, had already rushed into the streets, and carried terror and confusion wherever they went. The Senators themselves now followed. No man had presence of mind to give any account of what had happened, but repeated the cry that was usual on great alarms for all persons to withdraw, and to shut up their habitations and shops. This cry was communicated from one to another in the streets. The people, imagining that a general massacre was somewhere begun, shut up and barred all their doors as in the dead of night, and every one prepared to defend his own habitation.

Antony, upon the first alarm, had changed his dress, and retired to a place of safety. He believed that the conspirators must have intended to take his life, together with that of Cæsar; and he fled in the apprehension of being instantly pursued. Lepidus repaired to

⁶¹ Cic. ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 1. Nequissimum occisum esse.

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the suburbs, where the legion he commanded was quartered; and uncertain whether Cæsar's death was the act of the whole Senate, or of a private party, waited for an explanation, or an order from the surviving consul, to determine in what manner he should act⁶³. In these circumstances a general pause, and an interval of suspense and silence, took place over the whole city.

⁶³ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

C H A P. II.

General Consternation on the Death of Cæsar. — Tumultuary Assembly of the People. — Declarations of Cinna and Dolabella. — Appearance of Brutus and Cassius in the Forum. — Their Return to the Capitol. — Meeting and Debate in the Senate. — Act of Oblivion. — Speech of Brutus to the People. — Funeral of Cæsar. — Insurrection of the People. — Policy of Antony. — Appearance of Octavius. — His difference with Antony. — Both have Recourse to Arms. — Aspect of Things. — Antony proceeds to expel Decimus Brutus from the Cisalpine Gaul.

IN the general consternation, occasioned by the death of Cæsar, the authors of this important event appeared to be no less at a loss what to do, than the other members of the Senate, on whom it was brought by surprize. The danger of executing the first part of their design had appeared so great, that they looked no farther, or they imagined that with Cæsar's life every difficulty would be ended; and that the Senate and People, restored to their authority and privileges, would naturally recur to their usual forms. Finding themselves deserted in the Senate, and not knowing to what dangers they might still be exposed, they wrapped up the left arm in their gowns; a preparation which the Romans, in the habit of using a shield, generally made when alarmed with any prospect of violence.

The Conspirators thus in a body, with their swords yet stained with blood, went forth to the streets proclaiming security and liberty, and inviting every one to concur with them in restoring the commonwealth. They were joined by many who, though not necessary to the conspiracy, chose to embark with them in the present
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state of their fortunes. Of these are particularly mentioned, Lentulus Spinther, Favonius, Acquinas, Dolabella, Murcus, Peticus, and Cinna. But observing that the People in general did not shew any hearty approbation of their cause; and knowing that, besides the legion which Lepidus commanded in the suburbs, there were in the city multitudes of veterans, who having received grants of land from Cæsar, either had not yet gone to take possession of them, or having been at their settlements, had returned to pay court to their patron before his departure from Rome; and suspecting that Antony, now the sole Consul and supreme officer of State, was likely to exert the powers of a magistrate against them; and being on every side beset with dangers of which they knew not the extent, they determined to take refuge in the Capitol, and with the gladiators of Decimus Brutus, who had already taken possession of that fortress, to wait the issue of this general scene of suspense.

Multitudes of the people, observing that the persons who had occasioned this general alarm were themselves on the defensive, and no way inclined to extend the effusion of blood, ventured forth into the streets, and many crowded together in the forum or ordinary place of resort. The first person that took any public part upon this occasion was Cinna, the son of him who had been a leader of the Marian party, brother-in-law of Cæsar, and now, by his nomination, advanced to the dignity of Prætor. This relation of the deceased, to the surprise of every one, tore the Prætor's gown from his own shoulders; declared that in this act he then abdicated his office, as having been unwarrantably obtained by the nomination of an usurper; and he proceeded to make a harangue to the People, in

* Appian says, that the friends of the conspirators, by distributing money, endeavoured to form a party among the populace. The necessity of this expedient, if real, is sufficient to shew how desperate the attempt

was of restoring democratical government to the inhabitants of Rome, composed of the refuse of Italy, and of the provinces collected to enjoy the rewards of idleness and faction.

which he represented Cæsar as a tyrant, extolled the conspirators as the restorers of liberty to their country, and proposed that they should have the proper safeguards to their persons, and be invited to assist in the assembly of the People.

Dolabella, who had been nominated by Cæsar to succeed in the office of Consul, which he himself was about to vacate, thinking that the intended succession was now open to him upon Cæsar's death, reversed the first part of Cinna's conduct, by assuming the robes and ensigns of Consul, to which he had no title; but joined with the abdicated Prætor in applauding the authors of Cæsar's death, expressed his wish that he himself had been a partner in the glory of their action, joined with Cinna, in proposing that these restorers of liberty should be invited to the assembly of the People, and that the anniversary of the present day should be observed for ever, as a festival sacred to the restoration of the commonwealth.

The partizans of Cæsar, yet unacquainted with the extent of their own danger, had absented themselves, and the assembly consisted chiefly of persons to whom these proposals were agreeable. The motions that were now made by the late Prætor and the supposed Consul accordingly prevailed, and the leaders of the conspiracy were invited to descend from the Capitol. But of this invitation only Marcus Brutus and Cassius took the benefit. Having joined the assembly, they severally addressed themselves to the multitude with an air of dignity and consciousness of merit, as being the procurers of that liberty which the people were now to enjoy, and by which they were enabled to judge for themselves. They contrasted the late usurpation of Cæsar with the free constitution of the republic; observed, that with respect to themselves, unsupported as they were with any military force, they could have no intention to supplant the usurper in the possession

* Appian de Bello Civili, lib. ii. Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 21.

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of his power, and could have no object besides the restoration of the laws and the freedom of their country. And they exhorted the audience, in terms rather popular, than really applicable to the present state of affairs, to make the same use of their deliverance from an usurped and violent domination which their ancestors, at the expulsion of Tarquin, had made of a similar event. They specified the merit which many persons had in this enterprise, particularly that of Decimus Brutus, who had furnished the company of gladiators, which, in entering on this business, made the principal part of their strength; and observed, that, notwithstanding the splendid fortune to which Decimus Brutus might have aspired under Cæsar's influence, he had preferred the rights of his fellow-citizens, and the restoration of the commonwealth. They turned the attention of the audience on the case of Sextus Pompeius, the only surviving son of the great Pompey, now unjustly deemed an outlaw and a rebel.¹ "In the person of this young man," they said, "you have the last of a noble family, who, in the contest for freedom, have sacrificed themselves for the republic, even he is still beset by the emissaries of the late usurper, who, pretending public authority, are armed for his destruction with swords, yet red with the blood of his father and of his brother." They moved the People, that so unjust a war should be instantly suspended, and that this young man should be restored to the rights of his ancestors; that the Tribunes Cæsetius and Marullus, being unjustly degraded by Cæsar, in violation of that sacred law, which he himself, upon much less grounds, had made his pretence for a civil war, should now be restored to all their dignities.

In these fond anticipations of freedom, the authors of this attempt to restore the republic, enjoyed for once the fruits of their labour,

¹ This young man having absconded for Spain at the head of a considerable force, and defeated Asinius Pollio, who had been employed by Cæsar against him.

and spoke to a numerous assembly of the Roman People, seemingly unrestrained and unawed by military force. The city, however, had not yet recovered from the consternation with which the People was seized: the present assembly was not sufficiently attended by persons, on whom the conspirators could rely for their safety. It was thought most prudent, therefore, that Brutus and Cassius should return to their friends in the capitol, and that from this place they should treat of an accommodation with Antony, and with the other leaders of the opposite party.

On the following day, Antony, seeing that the restorers of the commonwealth remained in the capitol, and abstained from violence against any of the supposed friends or adherents of Cæsar, ventured abroad from his lurking place, and resumed the dress and ensigns of Consul. In this capacity he received a message from the conspirators, desiring a conference with himself and with Lepidus. Antony, though, in times of relaxation and security, extravagant, dissipated, and in appearance incapable of serious affairs¹; yet in arduous situations he generally belied these appearances, was strenuous, cautious, and able. He did not yet perceive how far the party of Cæsar was or was not extinguished with its leader. The only military force in Italy was at the disposal of Lepidus, of whom he was jealous. In his answer therefore he assumed an appearance of moderation and regard for the commonwealth, and referred every question to the Senate, which he had already summoned to assemble.

In expectation of this meeting of the Senate, all parties were busy in consultations, and in soliciting support to their interest. The friends of the conspirators were in motion all night visiting the Senators, and preparing measures for the following day. The veterans of Cæsar, both officers and legionary soldiers, apprehending that the

¹ If I am not mistaken, says Cicero, upon this occasion, he minds eating and drinking even more than mischief. (Cicero ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 3. quem quidem ego æpularem magis arbitror rationem habere, quam quidquam mali cogitare.)

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grants of land lately made to themselves might be recalled, went to and fro in the streets, and made application wherever they had access, with representations and threats. They even provided themselves with arms, and prepared to overawe the Senate by their numbers.

In the course of the same night, Lepidus had marched into the city with the legion he commanded, and took possession of the Forum. To the People who assembled around him he lamented the death of Cæsar, and inveighed against the authors of this unexpected event. By this declaration, he encouraged the partizans and retainers of the late Dictator to come abroad, and rendered the streets and passages exceedingly dangerous for those who were supposed to be of the opposite party. Cinna, who, to evince his zeal for the reviving republic, had resigned the office of Prætor conferred upon him by Cæsar, was attacked on his way to the Senate, and narrowly escaped with his life.

Antony, in that busy night, had, by his credit with Calpurnia the widow of Cæsar, got possession of all his memorials and of all his writings, and had secured an immense sum of money, which had been deposited by him in the temple of Ops⁴.

On the following day, being the eighteenth of March, the Senate assembled, as soon as it was light, in the temple of the Earth. The veterans beset the doors⁵. Dolabella presented himself, ushered in by the Lictors, and took possession of one of the Consuls chairs. Antony being seated in the other, moved the Assembly to take into consideration the present state of the commonwealth. He himself professed great zeal for the republic, and a disposition to peace⁶. The greater part of those who spoke after Antony justified or extolled the act of the conspirators, and moved that they should have public

⁴ Cicero says, septies Millies H. S. about six millions sterling, Philip. ii. c. 37. 4000 Talents. Plut. in Anton.

⁵ Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 14. Nonne

omni ratione veterani qui, armati, aderant, cum presidii nos nihil haberemus, defendendi fuerunt?

⁶ Ibid. Philip. i. c. 1.

thanks and rewards for their services. This they supported by a charge of usurpation and tyranny against Cæsar. Upon this point, however, Antony thought proper to interpose; reminded the Senators how nearly many of them were concerned in this question. "They who are to vote in it," he said, "will please to observe, that if Cæsar shall be found to have acted with legal powers, his acts will remain in force; if otherwise, all the proceedings that took place during his administration must be erased from your records; and his body, as that of a traitor and a tyrant, made fast on a hook, must be dragged through the streets, and cast into the Tiber. This sentence would affect the remotest parts of the empire, or would extend, in its application, farther perhaps than we should be able to enforce it by our arms. Part indeed is in our power. Many of us hold offices, or are destined by Cæsar's nomination to offices, either at home or abroad. Let us begin with divesting ourselves of what we now hold; and with renouncing our expectations for the future. After we have given this proof of our disinterestedness, our allies abroad will listen to us, when we speak of recalling the favours granted to them by the late Dictator."

By this artful turn, which was given by Antony to the subject now under deliberation, many, who in the late arrangements made by Cæsar, held places in the Senate or magistracy, or, who were by his appointment destined to succeed to high offices at home or abroad, were greatly disconcerted. Some of those who were actually in office, as retainers of the late usurpation, resigned their powers, and laid down the ensigns of magistracy on the steps where they sat; but Dolabella, who, in consequence of a destination made, though not fulfilled by Cæsar, had recently assumed the Consular robes, and who, being under the legal age, had no hopes of being re-elected by the free voice of the People, notwithstanding his declaration in favour

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of the authors of Cæsar's death, pleaded for the necessity of sustaining all the acts and decrees of that usurper.

While the Senators were engaged in debate on the terms of their first resolution, relating to the act of the conspirators and the death of Cæsar, the People, who had assembled in great multitudes in the market place, became impatient to know what was passing, and pressed on the doors of the temple where the Senate was met, with some attempts to force or break them open¹. On this occasion, Antony and Lepidus thought proper to go forth, under pretence of appeasing the tumult; but with a real intention to observe what, in this critical state of affairs, was the prevailing disposition of the People, with a full resolution to be governed in their own measures, by what seemed to be the will of the multitude. Finding the humour of the majority, and the disposition of the troops such as they desired, menacing and sanguinary against the conspirators, they endeavoured to enflame their passions, employing signs and gestures of indignation, rather than words, which could not be heard. Among other expressions of this nature, Antony laid open his bosom, to shew the armour with which he had thought necessary, in the Senate, and amidst so many concealed enemies, to guard his life. By this, and other signs which he made, he insinuated that Cæsar had fallen in consequence of his excessive confidence, and of the clemency with which he had spared those who became his murderers.

From this scene, which passed in the streets, Antony returned to the Senate; and the debate being resumed, Dolabella alleging the confusion which must arise from a general suspension of magistracy, and the disorders attending general elections at so critical a time, insisted, that all the magistrates now in office should continue. Cicero pleaded for a general amnesty and oblivion for the past; enumerated

¹ Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

² Ibidem.

the evils which had been brought on the republic, by the contentions and by the vindictive spirit of party; proposed that none should be questioned for Cæsar's death, nor any one be called to account for any violence committed under his authority; that the arrangements made by Cæsar should remain; that every one destined to office, should in his turn succeed according to that destination; and that all the provisions made for the army should be fully secured to them*.

After some opposite opinions on the question had been delivered, Antony concluded the debate with a tone of more authority than he had hitherto assumed. "While you deliberated," he said, "on the conduct which you were to hold with respect to the conspirators, I chose to be silent; but when you changed the question, and proposed to condemn the dead, I ventured only to make one objection, which being removeable by yourselves, ought to have been the least of all your difficulties. And yet I find it is sufficient to stop all your proceedings! What are we to think of the remaining objections? The whole fabric of the empire rests at this moment on establishments made by Cæsar; at home on the arrangements he has made in the succession to office; abroad on the grants of possessions or immunities made by him to princes, cities, corporations, and provinces, and on the several conditions he has, in return, stipulated with them on behalf of the Roman People. Imagine then, upon the subversion of what he has established, what scenes of confusion must follow. It is true, confusion at a distance may not affect you; but the scene in Italy will be sufficient to occupy your utmost attention. Will the veterans, do you think, who have not yet laid down their arms, or not lost the use of them, of whom many thousands are now in this city, will they allow themselves to be stripped of the grants which

* Dio. Cass. lib. xliv. c. 34.

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“ were made to them in reward of long, dangerous, and faithful
 “ services? You have heard their voice last night in the streets. You
 “ have heard their menaces against the authors of our present dis-
 “ tresses. Will they behold with patience the body of their favourite
 “ leader dragged with ignominy in the streets? Will they bear with
 “ an indignity, which, though done to his memory, must involve a
 “ forfeiture of all that they themselves have received, or a disap-
 “ pointment of all they expect in reward of their services? Will
 “ the Roman People in general submit to have the principal author
 “ of their present greatness stigmatized by your decrees as a cri-
 “ minal, and to have his assassins rewarded with honours?—The
 “ proposal to me, in all its parts, appears wild and impracticable.
 “ Let the conspirators, if you will, escape with impunity, provided
 “ they are sensible of the favour that is shewn to them; but talk
 “ not of rewards to them; nor, under pretence of censuring the con-
 “ duct of your late Dictator, wildly open a scene of confusion, by
 “ subverting all your present establishments. My opinion is, that
 “ the acts of Cæsar, without exception, should be ratified, and that
 “ all affairs should be suffered to move on in the channels in which
 “ he has left them. On these preliminary conditions I will submit
 “ to an accommodation, and agree that we think no more of the
 “ past.”

In delivering this speech, Antony having perceived so powerful a
 support in the legion which now had possession of the Forum, in
 the veterans, and in the promiscuous multitudes of people who were
 assembled round the doors of the Senate, expressed himself with as-
 surance and great vehemence. A decree was accordingly passed, by
 which all prosecutions, on account of Cæsar's death, were prohi-
 bited; all his acts, for the sake of peace, were confirmed; all his
 plans ordered to be carried into execution; and all the grants of
 land,

land, which had been made by him to the veterans, specially ratified:

This decree being to be carried to the People for their assent on the following day, and the accommodation of parties being so far advanced, the conspirators intimated an inclination to address themselves to the People; and were instantly attended by great numbers, who assembled to hear them on the ascent of the capitol¹⁰. Brutus spoke from the steps. He explained the motives upon which his friends and himself had thought proper to betake them to their present retreat; and, in speaking on this subject, complained of the outrage which had been offered to Cinna, who, though not concerned in the death of Cæsar, was attacked, for having been supposed to approve of what they had done. He enumerated the distresses which had afflicted the commonwealth, from the time at which Cæsar commenced hostilities to the present hour; "A period, during which the best blood of the republic," he said, "was continually shedding, in Spain, in Macedonia, and in Africa, to gratify the ambition or vanity of a single man. These things however," continued he, "we consented to overlook, and in suffering Cæsar to hold the higher offices of state, became bound, by our oath of fidelity, not to call any of his past actions in question. If we had likewise sworn to submit ourselves to perpetual servitude, our enemies might have some colour for the accusation of perjury, which we are told is now laid to our charge; but the proposal of any such engagement we should have rejected with indignation, and we trust that every Roman citizen would have done so also. Sylla, after having gratified his revenge against many who were no doubt his own enemies, at the same time that they were enemies of the public, at last restored the commonwealth; but Cæsar, without

¹⁰ Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

¹¹ Cicero. ad Attic. lib. xv. ep. 12.

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" any pretence, besides the gratification of his own ambition, continued, in the city and in the provinces, to usurp all the powers of the empire. The treasury he treated as his property, and the magistrates of Rome as his creatures, to be placed or displaced at his pleasure. One of the last acts of his life, in preparing for his departure from Rome, was to fix the succession of magistrates for several years; in order that in his absence you might not, by choosing your own officers, recover the habit of exercising that freedom, and of enjoying those rights, of which he meant to deprive you for ever."

From this account of Cæsar's usurpation, Brutus proceeded to speak of the grants which had been made to the veterans. " He acknowledged the long and faithful services which those men had performed against the enemies of the commonwealth in Gaul, in Germany, and in Britain; approved of the provision which had been made for them, and assured them of his concurrence in carrying this provision into full execution. At the same time he lamented the sufferings of those who had been stripped of their ancient possessions, to make way for those new grants; proposed that they should have a compensation from the Treasury, and hoped that the justice of the commonwealth would be employed in equally protecting the rights of every citizen."

This speech was received with applause; and on the following day the act of oblivion being confirmed by the People, and the children of Antony having been sent " as hostages to the capitol, the conspirators came down from thence, and were received with loud acclamations. After parties had saluted each other with mutual congratulations and expressions of friendship, Cassius retired to sup with Antony, and Brutus with Lepidus. The republic appeared

" Cicer. Philip. i. c. 1.

to be thoroughly re-established. The nobles in general expressed their satisfaction in the present situation of affairs, and extolled the authors of Cæsar's death as the restorers of freedom to their country. Many, however, who had shared in the late usurpation, having tasted of military power, and being unable to acquiesce in the condition of mere citizens, however dignified, or to accommodate themselves to the restraints and formalities of legal government, were likely to prove bad members of the reviving republic. Antony in particular considered himself as the successor of Cæsar, and could not for a moment cease to think how he might grasp the sovereignty, and dispose of all the dignities and emoluments of the state.

The Senate had weakly, under the shew of moderation, resolved to confirm Cæsar's will, and to ratify all his acts, both public and private; they had decreed that the remains of Cæsar should be honoured with a public funeral, which was to be conducted in the manner which his friends should think proper.

Antony was prepared to take advantage of these circumstances, towards preserving the party of Cæsar both in the army and in the city, not doubting that, while this party remained, he himself should remain at its head. For this purpose, he published Cæsar's will, in which he knew that there were many clauses likely to gratify the People, and to inflame their minds against his assassins. Among these, were a legacy of money to be distributed to the inferior citizens, at the rate of twenty-five Attic drachmas, about two pounds ten shillings a man¹¹; or, according to Octavius, quoted by Dion Cassius, 300 H. S. about the same sum; together with an assignment of his gardens on the river, as public walks for the service and pleasure of the People. Many legacies were likewise bequeathed to private persons. The inheritance, with the name of Cæsar, was devised to Octavius, grandson to

¹¹ Appian. de Bello Civili, lib. ii.

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his sister Julia. The succession, in case of the failure of this young man, was devised to Decimus Brutus, who, at the same time, together with Mark Antony, was made guardian to the young Cæsar, and executor of the will.

Upon the publication of this will, the partizans of Antony took occasion to extol the munificence and generosity of Cæsar towards the Roman people, to blacken the conduct of the conspirators, representing that Decimus Brutus, in particular, as equal to parricide; and Antony, in this manner, having secured the public attention and favour, proceeded to celebrate the funeral with all the honours that were due to a public benefactor, and to a common parent of the People.

Cæsar's body, in the general consternation, had been left for some hours on the spot where it fell. It was at last borne on a litter by a few slaves to his own house. In this confusion, one of the arms, all over bloody, was left hanging over the side of the litter; and this circumstance, though at the time in appearance unnoticed, yet remained with a deep impression on the minds of those who beheld it. On examining the body, there were found twenty-three wounds, sufficiently ghastly, although no more than one or two were mortal. Antony determined to exhibit this spectacle to the People, accompanied with that of the robes, which were pierced and torn in the struggle with which Cæsar fell, and all over stained with his blood. He likewise ordered a solemn dirge to be performed, with interludes of music, agreeable to the practice at Roman funerals, and suited to that particular occasion. He himself prepared to speak the oration; and a day being fixed for the solemnity, a pile was raised in the Campus Martius, near to the tomb of Julia, the daughter of the deceased, and the wife of Pompey. Although it was intended that the body should be consumed on this pile in the Campus Martius, the funeral oration was to be spoken from the Rostra in the Forum, and

and a couch was placed there, adorned with ivory and gold, on which was laid the corpse, with an effigy of the deceased, covered with purple, and over it a trophy, on which was to be hung the robes in which he was killed. The whole of this pageant was covered up, and adorned with a gilded canopy of state. In bearing it to the Forum, the pall was carried by magistrates then in office, or by persons who had passed through the highest stations of the commonwealth. But in the procession, the streets were so crowded, that no order could be kept, and multitudes who ought to have passed in regular procession, hurried by the shortest ways to the place at which the obsequies were to be performed."

Antony began the funeral oration, with an apology for intruding on the patience of many, who possibly took no particular concern in the catastrophe of Cæsar's life. "Had Cæsar been a private man," he said, "I should have proceeded to his funeral in silence; but one who has died in the first station of the republic, is entitled to public notice. And my own station as Consul, were I qualified for the task, would have imposed on me a special duty on this occasion; but in this instance, the eulogium of the dead must proceed from a higher authority than mine. The Senate and the people of Rome have spoken, and they have left to me only the task of repeating what they have said." After these words, he read over the decrees of the Senate and People, enumerating the titles, dignities, honours, and powers, which had been conferred on Cæsar. He spoke of the lustre of his family, the graces and accomplishments of his person, and of his singular abilities; gave a general account of the wars in which he had been engaged; his splendid successes, and the accession of glory and of empire he had procured to the Roman state: and when he had gained so far on the attention of his audience, he addressed himself to the popular part in particular. "When you were

" Sueton. in Cæsar.

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“oppressed,” he said, “by a faction that engrossed all the powers
 “and dignities of the commonwealth, Cæsar generously interposed
 “in your behalf. When this faction had withdrawn themselves from
 “the allegiance that was due to the government of their country;
 “and when they had actually armed first the provinces of Spain,
 “afterwards Macedonia, Greece, Asia, Africa, and all the eastern
 “parts of the empire against you, he braved the storms of winter and
 “the superior force of the enemy; he dispersed the cloud which had
 “gathered over your heads; he carried the glory of your arms into
 “Asia, Africa, Egypt, and yet a third time into Spain. His enemies
 “every where experienced his valour in battle, and his clemency in
 “victory. He pardoned many who were repeatedly in arms against
 “him; and when he dreaded the effects of an excessive lenity towards
 “those who appeared to be incorrigible, he sought for pretences to
 “pardon his enemies, under the shew of gratifying his friends.”

“On the subject of his administration in the state, I need not
 “make any observation to you. You were witnesses of his conduct.
 “Descended of your ancient kings, he had more glory in refusing a
 “crown that was offered to him, than they had in wearing it with
 “all its honours.—You loved him—you set him at the head of your
 “priesthood—at the head of your army—at the head of the re-
 “public;—you declared his person sacred as that of your Tribunes
 “—you declared him the father of his country—you shewed him
 “to the world, adorned with the ensigns of sovereign power—your
 “Dictator—your guardian, and the terror of your enemies. But he
 “is no more.—This sacred person is now breathless before you.
 “The father of his country is dead: not, alas! of disease—not of
 “the decline of years—not by the hands of foreign enemies—not
 “far from his own country—but here within your walls, and in the
 “Roman Senate, in the vigour of health, in the midst of all his de-
 “signs for your prosperity and glory. He who often repelled the
 “swords

“swords of his enemies, has fallen by the hands of treacherous friends, or by the hands of those whom his clemency had spared.—
 “But what availed his clemency? what availed the laws with which he so anxiously guarded the lives of his fellow citizens? His own he could not guard from traitors. His mangled body, and his grey hairs clotted with blood, are now exposed in that Forum which he so often adorned with his triumphs; and near to that place of public debate, from which he so often captivated the people of Rome with his eloquence.”

CHAPTER
II

At this passage, it is said that Antony began to change the tone of lamentation into that of rage; that he raised his voice to indignation and threats, but that he was checked by a general murmur of the Senators; and that he thought proper again to soften his expressions. “The Gods,” he said, “are masters of the fortunes of men. It is our part to forget the past, to look forward to the future, to cultivate peace among ourselves, and to accompany this hero with songs of praise to the mansions of the blest.” Having spoke these words, he tucked up his robe, and disengaged his arms as for some vehement action; and standing over the bier in which the effigy was laid, uncovered it; but, as starting from the sight, or struck into silence, he held up the torn and bloody garment to view, sunk again into a sorrowful tone, and prayed that it were possible for him to redeem that precious life with his own. Being interrupted with a general cry of lamentation from the People, he made a pause to hear the interlude. At a passage of the song, in which Cæsar was personated in the following words, “For this I spared, that they might murder me;” a general cry of indignation burst from the multitude; and, at the same time, the effigy of the dead, with all its wounds and stains of blood, being raised to view, the People could no longer be restrained. Part ran to avenge his blood on the persons

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of the conspirators, and part tore up the benches and tribunals of the magistrates, dismantled the Senate-house, brought into heaps the spoils of the supposed enemies of Cæsar, and forgetting the preparations which had been made for a funeral pile in the field of Mars, brought the most precious combustible materials they could find to light a fire in the Forum, on which to consume the body of the dead.

From this beginning, the People continued during the whole night to bring fresh materials. The officers who had attended the procession, stripped off the robes in which they were dressed, and cast them in the flames. Women crowded to the pile, and threw upon it, as a sacrifice to the manes of the dead, the ornaments of their own persons, the gorgets and the prætextas of their children. The People, in general, appeared to be seized with an epidemical phrenzy, of which, neither the degree of their attachment to Cæsar in his lifetime, nor the manner in which they had received the first accounts of his death, had given any adequate expectations: they ran through the streets denouncing vengeance on his enemies, and proceeded to violence against every person who was represented as such. Helvius Cinna being mistaken for Cornelius of the same name, who, on the preceding day, had declared his approbation of the conspiracy, was put to death by the populace, his body torn in pieces, and his head carried in procession on the point of a spear⁴³. The perpetrators of this murder being led by the retainers and dependants of Cæsar's family, snatched lighted brands from the funeral pile, and attacked the houses of Brutus, Cassius, and the other conspirators. They even attempted to demolish Pompey's theatre, in which Cæsar had been killed, and lighting many fires at once in different parts of the city, threatened the whole with immediate destruction.

⁴³ Sueton. in Cæs. Plut. Ibid. Appian. Dio. Cass. &c.

In these riots, though projected by Antony, the public disorder was carried to a greater height than he had wished or foreseen. His intention was to incite a popular cry against the authors of Cæsar's death, and to check the Senate in any opposition they were likely to give in the execution of his own designs. But when the crimes which were committed began to reflect dishonour on the party of Cæsar, and when all persons of property were alarmed, and the city itself was threatened with ruin, he found himself obliged, with the authority of magistrate, to interpose and put an end to tumults of so dangerous a nature. For this purpose, in concert with Dolabella, he issued an edict, prohibiting the populace to assemble in arms on any pretence whatever, and posted guards in different parts of the town to secure the observance of it.

Antony having by these means restored the peace of the city, and dispersed all the crowds which had assembled, except that which still remained at the place of Cæsar's funeral, where the populace continued for some time to feed the pile, he made a journey to the country, and remained in Campania great part of April and May. During this time, he was assiduous in his visits to the quarters and new settlements of the veterans, on whom he was for the future to rely for support in the pretensions, which it is probable he had already conceived, and which were much too high for the safety of the commonwealth. In his absence, one Ematius, who had formerly assumed the name of Marius, and under this popular designation had been busy in disturbing the public peace, and who, upon this account, had by the late Dictator himself been driven from the city, now again appeared, affected to lead in the riotous honours which were paid to the memory of Cæsar, and, attended by the populace, erected an altar or monument on the spot where the corpse had been burnt, and drew multitudes thither as to a place of devotion. On this occasion, Dolabella, who had offended many of the more respectable

spectable citizens, by assuming, without any regular authority, the dignity of Consul, now recovered their favour by a vigorous exercise of his power against this impostor, gave orders that Ematius should be put to death, many of his accomplices thrown from the Tarpeian rock, and the monument or altar they had erected should be razed to the ground¹⁶.

By these executions, the peace of the city seemed to be established, and even the commonwealth itself in some measure restored. Both the Consuls affected the character of ordinary magistrates, shewed a proper deference to the Senate, and in all things endeavoured to give satisfaction to the friends of the republic. Antony, upon his return to the city, consulted the principal Senators upon every motion which he proposed to make, and referred the determination of every question to the free discussion of that body. He affected to have no secrets; and though empowered by the late act of the Senate to carry into execution the different articles of Cæsar's will, and to complete all his intended arrangements, he did not, under this description, propose any measure but what was generally known and approved¹⁷.

In pursuance of this system of moderation, it was proposed by Antony, that Sextus, the remaining son of Pompey, who under the authority of the late Dictator had been declared an outlaw, should be restored to his country, and have a compensation in money for the losses which had been sustained by his family: and, to provide likewise for the future safety of the commonwealth, as well as for that of private persons, it was proposed that a law should be enacted to abolish for ever the name and power of Dictator. At the same time, all the honorary votes which had passed in favour of Brutus and Cassius; and every act which had a tendency to mitigate the

¹⁶ Dio. Cass. lib. xliv. c. 50 & 51. App. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

¹⁷ Cicero Philip. i. c. i.

animosity of Cæsar's party, to pacify the veterans, and to incline them, without any further disturbance, to settle on the lands which had been allotted to them, had his concurrence.

The Senate, in order to terminate as soon as possible every occasion of public uneasiness or alarm, although they greatly disapproved of the reward that was given to the army, for having, in a manner, subdued the republic, and had reason to dread the precedent, yet hastened to the performance of all Cæsar's engagements, in order to deprive the veterans of any pretence for multiplying their demands, or remaining together in arms.

These circumstances had a very favourable aspect, and the storm, which threatened the city and the commonwealth, appeared to be laid. Many had foretold, that the permission of a public funeral to Cæsar would have dangerous consequences; and during the late tumults and riots thought themselves sufficiently justified in these predictions. But their apprehensions now appeared to have been groundless, and the authors of the late moderate counsels, in which the Senate was induced to temporise, and to make concessions in such matters as were of less moment, in order to appease the animosity of parties, and to obtain their consent in matters of more consequence, were now highly applauded.

All the conspirators, in the height of the late disorders which arose on account of Cæsar's funeral, had withdrawn from the city, and, under different honourable pretences which were furnished them by the Senate, continued to absent themselves from Rome. Many of them had been formerly named to the government of provinces, and now proceeded to take possession of their lots. Decimus Brutus, in this capacity, repaired to the Cisalpine Gaul, Trebonius to Asia, and Tullius Cimber to Bythinia.

Marcus Brutus had been appointed to the government of Macedonia, and Cassius to that of Syria; but the two last being actually in

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office as Prætors, could not take possession of provinces until the expiration of their year, nor could they regularly absent themselves from the city, without some decree from the Senate to dispense with their attendance as officers of state. Under the present favourable aspect of public affairs, and after the Consuls had given such evident proofs of their respect for the commonwealth, it was supposed that the authors of the late revolution might now return in safety to the capital; and Cicero himself, on this occasion, was so confident of the perfect restoration of peace to the republic, that in writing to Atticus, he assures him, that "Brutus may now walk the streets of Rome with a crown of gold on his head." In this, however, with all his penetration, he had over-rated the professions, and mistaken the designs of Antony. This profligate adventurer, the more dangerous that he was supposed by his debaucheries, disqualified for any deep or arduous design, had assumed the disguise of moderation and deference to the Senate, merely to conceal his intentions, until he had formed a party on which he could rely. He had so far imposed on the public, by affecting to be alarmed with danger to his own person from the riots which he was employed to suppress after the funeral of Cæsar, that the Senate permitted him to arm his friends; and suffered him, under their own authority, to assemble a powerful body of men, amounting to some thousands, chiefly composed of officers who had served under the late Dictator, and who now submitted to act as the guards of Antony's person¹¹. Being thus strengthened, when the return of Brutus and Cassius was mentioned to him, he betrayed the falsehood of his former professions. "They cannot be safe," he said, "in the midst of so many of Cæsar's retainers and friends¹²."

Antony was greatly awed by the abilities of Brutus and Cassius, by the respect which was paid them by the public, by their credit

¹¹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. i.

¹² Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. i.

with

with the Senate, and by their determined resolution to maintain its authority. In order, therefore, to fortify himself against them, he maintained a continual correspondence with the veterans of the late Cæsar's army, courted their attachment, and stated himself as their protector and leader. In this capacity, he made his visit to their settlements in Campania, where, it has been observed, he passed the greater part of the months of April and May. At his return, he endeavoured to strengthen himself still more, by entering into a concert with Lepidus, who, in the quality of second in command to Cæsar, or general of the horse to the Dictator, remained at the head of all the military forces in Italy. He engaged himself to obtain for Lepidus the dignity of chief Pontiff; and, in order to cement the union of their families, proposed a marriage of his own daughter with the son of this officer. He had been averse to the promotion of Dolabella; and, at the death of Cæsar, would have opposed his assuming the dignity of Consul, if he had not been prevented at first, by the uncertainty of his own situation, and afterwards by the countenance which this intruder into public office began to receive from the Senate. In these circumstances, to dispute the accession of Dolabella, would be to throw him intirely into the hands of the republican party; he thought proper therefore to disguise his inclinations, and took measures to gain him, or at least to set him at variance with the authors of the late conspiracy. For this purpose, he made a tender of his services to procure him an appointment to command in any of the more advantageous provincial situations.

Notwithstanding that Cassius was already appointed to the government of Syria, Antony, according to agreement, undertook to support the pretensions of Dolabella, and to aid him in supplanting Cassius at the meeting of the Senate, which was to be held in the first of June. Having in this manner, with great industry and application, strengthened himself by his coalition with Lepidus and Do-

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labella, the one at the head of the army, the other his own colleague in the principal office of the state; and having secured the attachment and support of the veteran soldiers recently settled in Italy, he no longer kept any terms with the Senatorian party, or with the friends of the republic. Having formerly obtained a resolution of the Senate to confirm all the acts, and to maintain the arrangements which had been devised by Cæsar, and being master of the papers and memorials in which these were contained, he brought extracts and quotations from them in support of his several proposals, without producing the originals; and in this form commenced, in the name of the dead, a reign more arbitrary than that of the living Cæsar had been. As he had never communicated to any one the papers or memorials from which these authorities were drawn, he expunged or he inserted whatever he thought proper, or even, without taking this trouble, framed his quotations on every subject to the purpose which he meant to serve. He made Cæsar's memorials to teem with intended laws and acts of the Senate, and of the People; with grants and forfeitures of lands; with the pardon of crimes and recalls from banishment; with orders for levying contributions from princes, states, and private persons; with compositions to be exacted from towns and corporations, for the ransom of their possessions, liberties, and franchises; and even with distinct resolutions and decisions relating to matters which took their rise after Cæsar's death". His wife Fulvia, the widow of Clodius, likewise availed herself of this valuable mine, and sold offices and commissions, together with intire provinces and kingdoms", to those who were willing to pay her price.

Among the acts of Antony, during this Consulate, is mentioned, a change which he made in the judiciary law, by which he obtained,

²⁰ Cicer. Philip. ii. c. 38.

²¹ Ibidem ad Atticum, lib. xiv. ep. 12.

that

that a certain number of Centurions should be entered on the rolls of the judges, in place of the revenue officers²² whom Cæsar had excluded. Relying on this and other artifices, which procured him the support of the army, he rose every day in his presumption; and while he incited Dolabella to persist in supplanting Cassius in the province of Syria, he himself proposed to supplant Brutus in his nomination to the government of Macedonia. By this appointment, he meant to place himself at the head of the army, which Cæsar, to be in readiness for his Asiatic or Parthian expedition, had transported into Macedonia; and it appeared afterwards to be his design, as soon as he had obtained the command of this army, to procure an appointment to supersede Decimus Brutus in the province of Cisalpine Gaul, and, under pretence of expelling him from thence, to retransport this army again into Italy.

In order to obtain acts for so much of these purposes as he was then about to execute, he summoned all the members of the Senate²³ to assemble on the first of June. He had brought into the city, to overawe this assembly, great numbers of the veterans, on whom he himself, besides confirming the settlements which had been assigned to them by Cæsar, had bestowed considerable favours. At this meeting of the Senate, few of the members, who were inclined to oppose the Consul, thought that they themselves could with safety attend. Even Hirtius and Pansa, though named for the Consulate of the following year, and protected by the dignity which belonged to that destination, thought proper to absent themselves²⁴.

At a call of the Senate, so ill attended, Antony obtained for himself, without opposition, the government of Macedonia, with the command of the army which had been destined for Asia, but which, from Cæsar's death, had remained in that province. He at the same time

²² Tribuni Aerarii.

²³ Cicero ad Attic. lib. xv. ep. 6.

²⁴ Ibid. Philip. i. c. 2.

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obtained for Dolabella the province of Syria to the exclusion of Cassius; and by these several acts stated himself and his colleague as in open enmity with the leaders of the republican party, whom they had lately affected to court, but whom they now proceeded to strip of the preferments and honours which had been assigned to them by the commonwealth.

Under pretence of making compensation to Cassius and Brutus for the loss of the provinces of Macedonia and Syria, of which they were now deprived, Antony procured them appointments which they considered as an additional insult; that of Brutus, to inspect the supplies of corn from Asia; and that of Cassius, to superintend the supplies of the same kind which were brought from Sicily.

While the Senate complied with Antony in his demands on these several subjects, they endeavoured to restrain his abuse of the supposed will and memorials of Cæsar. For this purpose they appointed a committee of their own number to inspect the contents of those papers, and to attest the reality of such notes and instructions as were to be carried into execution under the authority of the Senate. Antony, however, paid no regard to this appointment, nor even suffered the committee to meet in discharge of the duty for which they were named.

About this time³⁶, and alarmed by these violences, Cicero, who had hitherto maintained some degree of neutrality or moderation between the parties, departed from Rome. He had, before the death of Cæsar, intended to withdraw into Greece, under pretence of superintending the education of his son at Athens, and had obtained Cæsar's consent, and the leave of the Senate for that purpose. On Cæsar's death, having hopes that the republic was about to revive, he took his resolution to remain in the city; but being now satisfied

³⁶ The middle of June. that

that these hopes were vain ; or, in his own terms, observing, *that, although the tree had been cut down on the ides of March, its roots were yet intire, and made vigorous shoots*, he resumed his former design of absenting himself ; and instead of applying to the Senate for leave, accepted from Dolabella, the newly appointed governor of Syria, a commission of lieutenancy, which he was to employ as a pretence for crossing the Ionian sea. In execution of this design he arrived in the twenty-sixth of June at Antium, where he found Brutus, with his wife Porcia, and mother Servilia, with other persons of distinction. He gave it as his opinion, that Brutus and Cassius should accept of the commissions assigned to them as inspectors of the supplies of corn from Sicily and Asia, and should repair to their several provinces for that purpose. While the company were yet deliberating on this subject, they were joined by Cassius, who, upon Cicero's repeating what he had said, answered, with a stern countenance, That he would not go into Sicily, nor accept as a favour, what was intended as an affront. He complained, that opportunities had been lost of rendering effectual the first and principal step which had been taken to deliver the commonwealth, and was inclined to blame Decimus Brutus for some part of this neglect. Cicero censured the conduct of the whole party, for not having secured the completion of a business that was so successfully begun. " You ought," he said, " immediately, upon the death of Cæsar, to have assumed the government, to have called the Senate by your own authority, and to have taken advantage of the spirit that was generally raised among the People for the recovery of their legal constitution."

In the result of this conference, Brutus and Cassius, as well as Cicero, took their resolution to depart from Italy ; and the two former, with so much resentment of the indignity which they had suffered in their appointment to inspect the importation of corn, that they engaged

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gaged Servilia²⁷ to employ her influence in having this appointment expunged from the public acts or records of the Senate. Before their departure, they wrote a joint letter to Antony, conveyed in expressions that were guarded and polite; but demanding an explanation of the terms in which they stood with him, and of the purposes for which he had assembled the veterans of Cæsar in such numbers at Rome. Some time after this letter was sent, they drew up a joint edict or manifesto, setting forth the cause of their absence from the capital, and protesting against the violence which was daily offered to the constitution of the republic.

In answer to this letter, and to the paper with which it was followed, Antony issued a manifesto full of invective and contumely, and which he transmitted, under a formal address, to the Prætors Brutus and Cassius, accompanied with a letter in the same style. The originals of these several papers are lost; but in reply to the last, we find addressed to Antony, and signed by Brutus and Cassius, the following original preserved among the letters of Cicero:

“ Brutus and Cassius, Prætors, to Antony, Consul, &c.

“ We have received your letter, which, like your manifesto, is
 “ full of reproach and of threats, and very improper from you to
 “ us. We have done you no injury; and if we were inclined to
 “ hostilities, your letter should not restrain us. But you know our
 “ resolutions, and you presume to threaten us, to the end that our
 “ pacific conduct may be imputed to fear. We wish you all the
 “ preferments and honours which are consistent with the freedom
 “ of the commonwealth. We have no desire to quarrel with you;
 “ but we value our liberties more than we value your friendship.
 “ Consider well what you undertake, and what you can support. Do
 “ not be encouraged so much by the length of Cæsar’s life, as warned
 “ by the short duration of the power he usurped. We pray to God,
 “ that your designs may be innocent; or, if they be not innocent,

²⁷ The mother of Brutus.

“ that

"that they may be as little hurtful to yourself as the safety of the
"commonwealth can permit".

CHAP.
II.

These altercations led to an open breach. The Prætors wrote to Decimus Brutus, Trebonius, and Cimber, to put their several provinces in a state of defence, and to make what further provision they could of men and money as for a certain war. Cicero, in continuing his voyage to Greece, had arrived on the sixth of August at Leucopetræ, beyond Rhegium; and had set out from thence; but being put back, was met by some citizens at Rhegium, just arrived from Rome, who brought him copies of the edicts or manifestos issued by Cassius and Brutus, with a report, that a full meeting of the Senate was expected on the first of September; that Brutus and Cassius had sent circular letters requesting the attendance of all their friends; that Antony was likely to drop his designs; that the cause of the republic, having so favourable an aspect, his own departure was censured, and his presence was earnestly wished for.

Upon these representations, Cicero took his resolution to return to Rome, and arrived again at Pompeii, on the nineteenth of August²². Here, among the accounts of what had passed in the Senate on the first of that month, he was informed that Piso, the father of Calpurnia, and father-in-law of the late Cæsar, had, notwithstanding this connection and his interest in the remains of the late usurpation, vigorously opposed the measures of Antony; and, on that occasion, had acquired great distinction as a man of ability, and as an upright citizen; but that not being properly supported in the Senate, he had declined any further struggle, and had absented himself on the following day.

Cicero, though not greatly encouraged by these reports, continued his journey to Rome; and having arrived, on the last of August,

²² Cicer. ad Famil. lib. ii. ep. 3. Dated 4th of August.

²³ Cicer. ad Att. lib. xvi. ep. 7.

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found that the expectations which he had been made to entertain of Antony's intentions were void of foundation; and that the outrages he was likely to commit were such, as to make it extremely unsafe for any distinguished friend of the republic to come in his power. For this reason, Cicero, on the first of September, sent an excuse to the Senate, pleading the ill state of his health, which obliged him to remain shut up in his own house. Antony considered his absence from the Senate as an affront to himself, or as giving too much countenance to the suspicions which were entertained of his violent intentions. Under this impression he burst into rage, and sent an officer to require the attendance of Cicero, threatening, if he persisted in his supposed contumacy, to pull down his house about his ears; the ordinary method of forcing those to submission, who shut themselves up, or took refuge in their dwellings from the sentence of the law. He was dissuaded, however, from any attempt to execute his threat; and being himself absent from the Senate on the following day, Cicero ventured to take his seat, and, in the absence of the Consul, delivered that oration which is intitled the first Philippic. In this speech he accounted for his late retirement from the capital, and for his present return, in terms strongly reflecting on the conduct and administration of the present Consul.

Antony, in his turn, greatly exasperated by the accounts he received of Cicero's speech, prepared to reply at a subsequent meeting of the Senate; and delivered himself accordingly with great acrimony against his antagonist. These mutual attacks thus made in the absence of the parties, produced from Cicero that famous oration which is intitled the second Philippic; a model of eloquence in the style of antient invective; but which, though put in the form of an immediate reply to imputations supposed to be made in his presence, never was at all delivered, and is to be considered as a mere rhetorical pleading in a fictitious case. The offence, however, which was given

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by the publication of this invective, made a principal part in the quarrel, which the parties never ceased to pursue, till it ended with Cicero's life. CHAP.
II.

While the Consul Antony in this manner threw off the mask of a legal magistrate, and acted in some measure as a person who succeeded to the military usurpation erected by Cæsar, a new actor appeared on the stage of public affairs, from whose youth nothing important, it was thought, could, for some time, be expected. This was Caius Octavius, the grand nephew of Julius Cæsar, by his niece Attia, and the son of Octavius, who, in the course of State-preferments, had arrived at the dignity of Prætor; and in this rank, having governed the province of Macedonia, died suddenly on his return from thence. His widow, the mother of this young man, married Philippus, a citizen of moderate parts, but upright intentions. In the house of Philippus the young Octavius was brought up, and passed his early years, while his grand-uncle was engaged in the most active parts of his life, and while he was insinuating himself by intrigues, or forcing his way at the head of armies to the sovereignty of the Roman empire. Elevated by his connection with this relation to a high situation, and to higher views, he had followed him in the late campaign against the sons of Pompey in Spain, and was intended, though a minor, to succeed Lepidus, under the Dictator, as general of the horse.

Upon the return of Cæsar into Italy, and after the army destined for the war in Asia had been transported into Macedonia, the young Octavius was sent to Apollonia, as a place at which he might continue his studies, and his military exercises, and be in the way to join the army, and to attend his uncle in the projected expedition to the East.

After Octavius had been about six months at Apollonia, a messenger arrived in the beginning of the night with accounts of Cæsar's death, bearing, that he had fallen in the Senate; but without deter-

mining whether he fell by the hands of a few, or in the execution of a general resolution of the whole body. The young man was greatly dejected and perplexed in his thoughts. The military men then about him advised him to repair to the quarters of the army in Macedonia, and to put himself at their head. But his step-father Philippus, and his mother Attia, in their letters, had cautioned him against this or any other ambitious resolution; they advised him to return into Italy in the most private manner, and warned him to avoid giving any umbrage to the partizans of the republic, who had now got the ascendant at Rome, and would not allow any person whatever to tread in the dangerous steps of his late uncle.

Octavius accordingly embarked for Italy; and as he knew not what might be the disposition of the troops who were then stationed at Brundisium, he chose to land at Lupia, a place at some little distance, and on the same coast. Here he received farther accounts from Rome, with particulars of the conspiracy; the proceedings of the Senate; accommodation of the parties; the tumults that arose at Cæsar's funeral; the will, and his own share in it: but his friends still persisted in recommending a private station, and advised him even to drop his pretensions to the name and inheritance of Cæsar. But this young man, though only turned of eighteen, took upon him to decide for himself in this matter. He sent an officer to sound the disposition of the garrison at Brundisium; and finding that they were inclined to revenge the death of their late favourite leader, and that they resented the other proceedings of the republican party, he proceeded in person to Brundisium in the most public manner, and was met at the gates by the troops, who received him with all the honours thought due to the son of Cæsar.

From this time forward, Octavius assumed the name and designation of his late uncle. He was soon after attended by persons of all ranks from the neighbourhood of Brundisium, and set forward to

Rome

Rome with a retinue, to which, as he passed on the way, he received continual accession of numbers. The veterans, in general, who had grants of land, flocked to him; complained of the remissness of Antony in suffering the assassins of his own friend and benefactor to go unpunished, and declared their resolution to be revenged, as soon as any person appeared to lead them. Octavius thanked them for their grateful respect to his father's memory, but exhorted them to moderation and submission. He wished to know the state of parties more exactly before he should declare himself; and on his journey to Rome, young as he was, employed all the caution and wariness of age for the security of his person, lest any disguised enemies should have insinuated themselves amongst a multitude of professed friends, who were yet generally unknown to him. At Terracina, about fifty miles from Rome, he received a report, that the Consuls had superseded Brutus and Cassius in the provinces of Macedonia and Syria, and had assigned them inferior stations, by this account, at Cyrene and Crete; that many exiles were recalled, particularly Sextus Pompeius; and that, under pretence of executing the intentions of Cæsar, many new members were admitted into the Senate*.

Octavius, upon his arrival at Rome, found his step-father and his mother under great apprehensions from the power of the Senate, and from the general dispositions which appeared in the late act of indemnity that was passed in favour of those who had borne an active part in Cæsar's death. And these apprehensions were strongly confirmed by the neglect of Antony, who took no notice of his arrival, and did not pay that attention which might be thought due to the name of Cæsar; but he neither desponded nor exposed himself by any hasty act of presumption. He said, "That, being so young a man, and in a private station, he could not expect that the first

* Appian. de Bello Civile, lib. iii.

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“advances should be made to him from the Roman Consul; that
“he would soon convince the Senate of his dutiful intentions to-
“wards them; that all the world must applaud in him the endea-
“vours he should make to bring the authors of his father’s death to
“justice; that the act of indemnity, in favour of the assassins, had
“passed when there was no one to oppose it; but that a charge of
“murder, when directly brought³⁰, could not be slighted by the
“Senate, by the Roman People, nor even by Antony himself: that
“to decline the inheritance which was left him, would be disrespect-
“ful to the memory of Cæsar, and injurious to the Roman People,
“in whose behalf he was made executor of his father’s will. Cæsar,”
he said, “has distinguished me, and honoured me; and I had rather
“die, than appear unworthy of such a father.” His friends were
silenced by the appearance of so much discretion and resolution.
They broke off the conference with an advice which already ap-
peared to be unnecessary. That he should do nothing rashly, nor
embrace violent measures, where prudence might equally gain his
purpose.

Next morning this young man, attended by a numerous company
of his friends, repaired to the Forum, and presented himself before
the Prætor C. Antonius, in order to declare in form his acceptance
of the inheritance of his late uncle, and in order to be invested with
the name of Cæsar. From thence he went to Pompey’s gardens
where Antony then resided; and after being made to wait, for
some time, in a manner that sufficiently expressed, on the part of
Antony, a dislike to his visit, he was admitted to a conference.

The young Octavius, having been educated as the nearest relation
to Cæsar, and destined to inherit his fortunes, had conceived the
extent of his own importance from the height of Cæsar’s power;

³⁰ Appian. de Bello Civile, lib. ii.

he considered the sovereignty of the empire, in some measure, as his birthright, and his own interest as the central point to which all public transactions should tend. In this conference with Antony, he is said to have betrayed more of this character than suited his present condition, or than could be reconciled with the discretion with which he had acted on other occasions. He entered with the Consul on a review of his conduct as an officer of State, from the death of Cæsar to the present moment; thanked him for the regard he had in some things shown to his father's memory, and with equal confidence censured and arraigned him in others. "You did well," he said, "in opposing the thanks which the Senate was about to decree to the murderers of my father and of your own benefactor and friend; and you did well in depriving Brutus and Cassius of the important provinces of Macedonia and Syria; but why preclude my just resentments by an act of indemnity? Why assign any provinces at all to those assassins? Why suffer Decimus Brutus, in particular, with so great a force, to keep possession of Gaul? This is not only to spare, but to arm them against me." He concluded by demanding restitution of the money which Antony had seized in the temple of Ops, to the end that he might, without delay, pay off to the Roman People the legacies bequeathed to them by Cæsar.

Octavius, in this first specimen of his boldness and address, although he ventured to insult the Roman Consul, paid court to the army and to the People; and perhaps wished for the reputation of having quarrelled with Antony on the subject of his remissness in avenging the death of Cæsar, and of his own impatience to pay off the contents of his will. Antony, being surprised and piqued at the arrogance of his speech, and of his pretensions, endeavoured to check his ambi-

³³ Plut. in Antonio. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

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tion, by putting him in mind, that although he was named the heir of Cæsar's estate, he must not pretend to inherit his dignities; that the Roman constitution acknowledged no hereditary powers; that he ought to remember in whose presence he stood; that the Roman Consul must be equally indifferent to his approbation, or to his censure. "To me," he said, "it was owing that your uncle was not declared an usurper and a tyrant; consequently, to me it is owing that you have any other inheritance by him besides the disgrace of being related to a traitor, whose body had been dragged through the streets, and cast into the Tiber. As to any money which may have been lodged in the treasury, of that," he said, "Cæsar had already diverted too much to his own private uses; that when his receipts came to be examined, and the sums not accounted for to be claimed, much public money might be found among his effects; that Cæsar himself, if living, could not refuse to make up his accounts; and that a proposal was actually in agitation to have them stated and examined."

From these altercations, Octavius and Antony parted on very ill terms, and were publicly known to have quarrelled. Octavius, from an affected zeal to put the People in possession of the legacy bequeathed to them by his father, brought his own effects to sale. Antony, on his part, promoted the inquiry into the applications of public money, and gave out, that the heirs of the late Dictator would have great sums to refund, and little reversion. These heirs, in return, pleaded the late decree of the Senate and People, ratifying all Cæsar's acts, and consequently precluding all inquiries into this, or any other part of his administration; but as Antony could fabricate acts of Cæsar, when wanting, to his purpose, so he could set aside or evade real acts when they stood in his way.

In the mean time the friends of the republic rejoiced at a breach which seemed to weaken their enemies, and gave them hopes, that
a com-

a competition for the succession to Cæsar's power would divide the army, and shake the foundation on which that power was supported. In this contest Antony, by his age, his authority, and by his great influence in the commonwealth, having so much the advantage, they thought it safest to promote the interest of his antagonist, who was in a private station, a minor, under the direction of relations inclined to moderation, and strongly possessed with deference to the Senate. Antony, by his arrogance, and the public contempt with which he treated the heir of Cæsar, gave offence to the party from which he hoped for support. Having already obtained all the ends which he proposed to himself in courting the Senate, he pulled off the mask, and set them at defiance. Octavius, on the contrary, while he endeavoured to supplant his antagonist in the favour of the People, affected great deference to the Senate and regard to the commonwealth. He even changed his language in public respecting the conspirators, and to their friends affected a desire to be reconciled with them. Being at the country-house of Philippus, near to that of Cicero, he took this opportunity to pay his court to a person of so much consideration in the republican party; accosted him with the title of father, and mentioning his friends of the conspiracy with respect, affected to put himself entirely under his protection²². Cicero being either the dupe of these artifices, or willing to encourage Octavius against Antony, seemed to listen to his professions; notwithstanding that Philippus, who was interested to save the republic, at the same time informed him that he did not believe this artful boy was sincere²³.

While the young Cæsar thus strove to ingratiate himself with the party of the Senate, his chief reliance was on the People. He opened an office for the payment of the late Dictator's legacy to every one who claimed a share of it; and as these liberalities were ascribed to

²² Cic. ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 11. Modo venit Octavius in proximam villam Philippi, mihi totus deditus.

²³ Ibid. lib. xii. ep. 15.

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the deceased, and could not be made a charge of corruption against himself, he did not scruple to extend them beyond the letter of the will. He endeavoured at the same time to make it be believed, that by the oppressions of Antony he was straitened for means to perform his duty in this respect to the People; recommended to his agents to hasten the sale of his own effects at any price, and continually brought new articles to the market in order to raise money²⁴. Being introduced by one of the Tribunes, he delivered a harangue to the People, in which he declared his intention to exhibit shows and theatrical entertainments in honour of his late father's memory²⁵. He proposed to have seated himself at the theatre in his chair of state; but in this particular had the mortification of being forbid by the Tribunes²⁶.

Although the Senators in general promoted the claims of Octavius, and considered him as a zealous confederate against Antony, who was the principal object of their fears, the conspirators saw in him the representative of their late enemy and the leader of Cæsar's army. They endeavoured to put their friends on their guard against him, and by all means in their power to counteract his popular arts. For this purpose the public entertainments, which were this year to have been given by Brutus in the quality of Prætor, were provided and exhibited in his absence with great splendour. These entertainments, from animosity to the family of Cæsar, rather than from a regard to Brutus, were conducted by C. Antonius, the brother of the present Consul, who presided in the place of his colleague the absent Prætor, and who was desirous on this occasion to divide with Octavius the popular favour even in behalf of Brutus, with whom he was not on good terms²⁷.

²⁴ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.²⁵ Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xv. ep. 1.²⁶ Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xv. ep. 2.²⁷ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

As such entertainments were intended by the Roman officers to ingratiate themselves with the People, so the reception they met with was considered as an indication of their success or disappointment in any object they had in view. On the present occasion the Tereus of Accius being brought on the stage, and every sentiment of liberty applicable to the times being greatly applauded, this was considered as an intimation of popular favour to the deliverers of their country, and to Brutus in particular, the giver of the feast. His friends thought this a favourable opportunity to make trial of their strength; and as the Roman People, still supposed to be the sovereigns of the world, were accustomed, like other despotical masters, to decide on the greatest affairs as matters of private passion, and in the midst of their pleasures, the aristocratical party raised a cry, that the restorers of public liberty should be recalled to their country³³. This cry was not returned by the audience, and the performance itself was stopped by the clamours of the opposite party, until the proposal now made in favour of the conspirators should be withdrawn.

Brutus and Cassius finding their party among the People so little able to support them, saw no security but in the possession of provinces which, in case of an open attack from their enemies, might supply them with money and arms for their defence. They determined, therefore, notwithstanding the late arrangements, by which they were superseded, to repair to the provinces of which the command had been originally intended for them; Cassius to Syria, and Brutus to Macedonia and Greece. They were encouraged in the pursuance of this resolution by the divisions and quarrels which arose in the opposite party; observing that the adherents of the late Cæsar were ranged on different sides with Octavius or with Antony, and that the army itself, though extremely averse to disputes which

³³ Cicero ad Attic. lib. xvi. ep. 2.

tended to disturb their possession of the government, were likely to balance or hesitate in the choice of their leader, they left Italy with some hopes, that the republic might revive in the dissention of its enemies.

The officers whom Antony had assembled as a guard to his person, ventured to expostulate with him on a breach which was so likely to reduce their force, and they exhorted him to act in concert with Octavius, at least until they had obtained a just revenge against the assassins of Cæsar. On this occasion Antony entered into the reasons of his past conduct, and accounted for the concessions which he had made to the Senate, as necessary to obtain the conditions on which the present flourishing state of the party depended. He reminded his friends that it was by his means that Cæsar's acts had been ratified; that it was by his means that, notwithstanding the late act of indemnity, the conspirators had been expelled from the city, and stripped of their provinces. For the future, he assured them, that being possessed of a proper force, he would appear undisguised, and give sufficient proof of his regard to Cæsar's memory, and to the interest of his surviving friends.

Antony, in compliance with the intreaties which were now made to him at this conference, had an interview with Octavius; at which they were, in appearance, reconciled to each other: but their pretensions were far from being sufficiently adjusted to render the agreement of long continuance. Octavius aspired to a degree of consequence which Antony by no means thought necessary to admit in so young a person. His undoubted title to the inheritance of Cæsar, and the attachment of Cæsar's personal friends, made Antony consider his advancement as altogether incompatible with the success of his own designs. Effects of their jealousies and animosities accordingly soon after appeared, such as rendered an open breach again unavoidable.

A vacancy

A vacancy having happened in the college of Tribunes³⁹, Octavius, though far short of the legal age, was presented by his friends as a candidate for this station. Antony, without declaring himself openly against them, published an edict, threatening with prosecution any person who should make a proposition to the People contrary to law; and by these means prevented their farther proceeding in this design.

Soon after this act of authority, on the part of Antony, to check the ambition of the young Cæsar, men armed as for an assassination were discovered in the Consul's house. They were not brought to any public examination; but it was given out that they had been suborned by Octavius. Whether this plot was fabricated, in order to load him with the odium of it, and to justify the measures which Antony himself meditated to take against a person supposed to have aimed at his life, or whether it was by Antony actually believed to be real, is uncertain. It occasioned a considerable ferment in the city, and the parties reasoned upon it as they were severally inclined. The friends of Antony persisted in accusing Octavius, and others recriminated, urging as a proof of Antony's design on the life of Cæsar, his having recourse in this manner to a forgery, which was evidently intended to exasperate the army and the people against his antagonist, and to justify the violence which he himself, with the first opportunity, meant to employ⁴⁰. Cicero, however, says, that people of judgment believed the plot on the part of Octavius to have been real, and that they approved of it⁴¹.

In the late interval of military usurpation, the Senators in general, though willing to resume the government, were actually unable to bear the load which it was likely to lay on their shoulders. They rejoiced at the breach between Octavius and Antony; but if these

³⁹ Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

⁴⁰ Ibidem.

⁴¹ Cicero ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 23.

adventurers should continue to quarrel about the spoils of the commonwealth, the greater part of those who had any interest in defending it were no more than a prey to the conqueror. Clouds hung over their councils on every side. The officers who had served under Cæsar in the late civil war, were posted at the head of armies in the most advantageous situations. Asinius Pollio had the command in the further province of Spain, Lepidus in the nearer; Plancus commanded in Gaul, and Antony in Macedonia. The veterans remained in the neighbourhood of Rome with swords in their hands, anxious for the settlements which had been lately assigned to them by Cæsar. These they did not believe to be secure, without the destruction of every law and of every form which could be cited to favour the claims of the former proprietors.

Antony made rapid advances to the military usurpation he had some time projected. Having availed himself so far of his nomination to the government of Macedonia, as to get possession of the numerous and respectable army which Cæsar, on their way to the Parthian war, had transported thither, he proceeded to exchange that province for the Cisalpine Gaul; and, under pretence of expelling Decimus Brutus from thence, had ordered the army of Cæsar to be transported back into Italy. Soon after the detection of the supposed plot of Octavius he departed from Rome, and set out for Brundisium. The troops which he had ordered from Macedonia were already arrived at that place; and as he had intelligence that Octavius had his emissaries employed to seduce them, he hastened to prevent the effect of this design, and to secure his own authority. He professed to employ this army merely in gaining possession of the province which had lately been decreed to him by the People. But in the desire of occupying, with an army, that very station from which Cæsar had so successfully invaded the republic; and which, according to the expression of Cato on the nomination of Cæsar to that province,

Vince, was in reality the citadel or commanding station which gave possession of Rome, he sufficiently evinced the designs which he had formed against the republic, and no less alarmed the heir of Cæsar, who expected to be the first victim of his power, than it threatened the Senate with a new and dangerous usurpation.

Under these impressions, while Antony took the road to Brundisium, Octavius repaired to Campania, and, by large donations⁴³ in money, engaged the veterans who were settled at Calatia, Casilinum, and Capua, to declare for himself. With this powerful support, he published his intention to withstand the Consul, and took measures to procure the authority of the Senate against their common enemy. He professed great zeal for the cause of the republic, and affected to put himself intirely under the direction of Cicero, now the most respectable member of the Senate that was left. He intreated this experienced counsellor to favour him with an interview at Capua. "Once more," he said, in his letter upon this occasion, "save the republic." At their conference it was deliberated whether Octavius should throw himself into Capua with three hundred veterans who had joined him, and there stop Antony's march to Rome; or should cross the Apennines, to give the legions, who were marching from Brundisium, an opportunity to execute the project of defection, which he believed they were meditating in his favour. In this question he affected to be determined intirely by Cicero, who advised him to move with all the force he could assemble towards Rome⁴⁴.

In compliance with this advice, Octavius having assembled ten thousand men, without waiting to array, or even to have them completely armed, advanced by hasty marches to prevent Antony, who about the same time had marched from Brundisium, and was hastening to advance in the same direction⁴⁵.

⁴³ Five hundred Denarii, i. e. about 161.

⁴⁴ Cicero ad Attic. lib. xvi. ep. 8.

⁴⁵ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

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The city was thrown into a great alarm by this unexpected approach of two hostile armies. Some expressed their fears of Antony, others of Octavius, and some of both. It was uncertain whether they advanced in concert to oppress the republic, or in competition to contend for its spoils. Many appearances favoured the latter supposition; and the late reconciliation gave some credit to the former.

Octavius, having the advantage of a shorter march, arrived before his antagonist; and being within two miles of the city, was received by Canutius, one of the Tribunes, whom he soon after sent back into the city, with assurances, that he had assembled his party not to second, but to oppose the designs of Antony; and that his purpose was to employ all the force he could raise for the defence of the commonwealth. The Tribune Canutius, in reporting what passed with Octavius, exhorted all who wished to preserve the republic to lend their assistance in execution of this design.

Upon these assurances, delivered by a Tribune of the People, the gates were thrown open to Octavius, and he entered the city, though not in a military form, yet followed by a numerous band of attendants, who concealed their weapons. With this company he took possession of the temple of Castor and Pollux, and prepared to explain himself to a numerous concourse of people, who were hastening into the area or court before the temple. Being introduced by the Tribune into this assembly, as a person who had matters of great moment to communicate respecting the state of the republic and the designs of Antony, he began his speech by commemorating the merits of his late adoptive father, and the ingratitude and injustice of Antony; declared, that although he had assembled his friends merely in his own defence, he was ready to employ them in the service of his country, and submitted himself intirely to such directions as he should receive from the powers established by law in the commonwealth;

wealth; observed, that they could not possibly doubt of his inclination to be employed at least against his personal enemies.

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It was probably in this speech, that Octavius, being to make a solemn asseveration, pointed to the statue of Julius Cæsar, with these words, "So may I arrive at my father's honours!" He had two opposite and irreconcilable parties to please on this occasion, and had not learned that the only safe course in such cases is silence. He offended the partizans of the republic by the veneration he expressed for Cæsar, and by his wish to tread in his steps; and in this, perhaps, committed the only public indiscretion with which he is chargeable in any part of his conduct. But what was in reality a more dangerous effect of this error, he offended the military part of his audience by the regard he affected to entertain for the civil government of the State, and by his open declaration of war against Antony. By this declaration, military men found themselves not invited to enter, as they expected, on the secure possession of the rewards and honours which had been promised to them; but called upon to fight for empire against their late fellow soldiers, commanded by an officer from whom they had high expectations as a friend, and much to fear as an enemy.

Soldiers of fortune being thus disappointed of the spoils which they expected to seize, and of the rewards which were now become due for former services, some of them absolutely renounced the party of Octavius; others, under pretence of providing arms and necessaries for the field, or pleading various excuses, desired leave to return to their own habitations. The greater part of the veterans actually withdrew: but Octavius, young as he was, did not sink under this untoward state of his affairs. He had ordered levies in Etruria, and in the district of Ravenna. These levies, upon the reputation of the

⁴⁰ Cicero ad Atticum, lib. xvi. c. 15.

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ascendant he had gained in the city, succeeded apace, and induced military adventurers from every quarter to espouse his cause.

Many who had served under Julius Cæsar, being accustomed to the life of a soldier, though settled as landholders in Italy, were not yet rooted in the condition of citizens, or in that of husbandmen. They had yet fresh in their memories the licence and the spoils of war. They saw them offered anew under the auspices of a leader who bore the name of Cæsar, and whose munificence was known. Many, therefore, who had recently left Octavius, being unwilling that others should reap the harvest in which they themselves had been invited to partake, again repaired to his standard; and, as fast as they arrived, were sent to Etruria, into different quarters, to be armed, arrayed, and furnished with all necessaries for the field⁴⁷.

Octavius from thenceforward conducted himself between the parties with great address: to the veterans he talked of avenging Cæsar's death: to the friends of the republic he set forth the dangerous designs of Antony, affected to sacrifice all private resentment to his zeal for the commonwealth⁴⁸, even promoted the election of Cæca into the college of Tribunes⁴⁹, and affected in all things to be governed by the Senate.

What hopes, in the mean time, could be formed for the State? Could Senators entrust the age or the intention of this crafty boy, nursed, as they observed, in the midst of usurpation; and who, by arming himself without any legal authority, had given evidence of an assuming and audacious spirit? They stood in awe of Antony, and were afraid to provoke him by an open declaration. Octavius did not yet appear to be in condition to cope with the Roman Consul; and if he were in condition to do so, would be likely to form designs equally dangerous to the commonwealth. Antony, with a

⁴⁷ Dio. Cassius, lib. xlv. c. 12. Appian.
de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

⁴⁸ Cicero ad Attic. lib. xv. ep. 12.

⁴⁹ Ibid. lib. xvi. ep. 15.

numerous army, had all the authority of government in his hands.—The dispositions of Pansa and Hirtius, the Consuls named by Cæsar for the ensuing year, were yet unknown.—Although many things were transacted in name of the Senate, this order of men scarcely ventured to resume their ordinary functions, and shook under the rod which Cæsar had lifted over them, even while it hung in suspense between different divisions of his remaining party³⁰. Piso, the father-in-law of Cæsar, had ventured to oppose Antony. Cicero and Publius Servilius afterwards followed this example. “But all that we have gained,” said Cicero, “is no more than this, that the Roman People may perceive, that whoever contends for liberty is not safe at Rome.” These Senators, therefore, together with L. Cotta, L. Cæsar, and L. Sulpicius, had in despair, upon seeing Antony put himself at the head of an army, absented themselves from the public assemblies.

It was evident from every circumstance, that the fate of the empire was to be determined by the sword. The troops feeling their consequence, affected indifference to every interest but their own, and presumed to treat with equal contempt, in their turns, the different persons who assumed the command of them. Of the five legions which had been quartered in Macedonia, four were landed at Brundisium when Antony arrived at that place. They turned out on his coming, but did not receive him with the usual acclamations and shouts. They closed in profound silence round the platform from which he was to speak, as having suspended their judgment, until they should know what gratuities they were to receive in reward of their services. When he mentioned four hundred sestertii, or between three and four pounds a man³¹. This being far short of the rewards that were expected for giving a new master to the commonwealth, he was answered with signs of derision. In return

³⁰ Cicero ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 5 & 6. Ibid. ad Dolabellam, post 17.

³¹ Dio. Cass. lib. 45. c. 13. or according to Appian. 100=16s.

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to this insolence, Antony assumed a tone which tended rather to exasperate than to overawe his audience. He reproached these legions with ingratitude for the favour he had recently done them, in changing their destination from Parthia to the Cisalpine Gaul; and with treachery, in having suffered to remain among them the emissaries, whom he knew that a presumptuous boy had employed to debauch them from their duty. "These," he said, "shall not escape me; in the mean time prepare yourselves to march into the province which is allotted for your station."

Antony, while he yet continued to speak, had the mortification to see intire cohorts, with their officers, withdraw from his presence, uttering words of contempt and of scorn. Seeing the desertion likely to become general³², and being greatly provoked, he dismissed the audience, sentenced three hundred officers and private men to immediate death, and stood by while they perished under the hands of the executioners. Fulvia, who had attended him in his journey to Brundisium, is said to have been present likewise at this scene, and to have satiated her revenge of the insults offered to her husband, with so near a view of the executions, as to have her clothes stained with blood³³.

The offence that was taken at these cruelties gave ample encouragement to the agents of Octavius, who, notwithstanding the threats of Antony, still continued to negotiate in the quarters of his army. Papers were dropt and handed about, containing a contrast of Antony's parsimony with the liberality of Octavius. A search was made for the authors of these libels; but the bad success with which it was attended, served only to show the general disaffection of the army. The accounts, at the same time, which were brought of the progress which Octavius made in the settlements of the ve-

³² Cicer. ad Attic. lib. xvi. ep. 8.³³ Ibid. Philip. iii. c. 2 & 4.

terans, and of his reception at Rome, gave Antony a just sense of his danger, and made him change his tone. In a second address to the army, he made an apology for his late severities. They knew, he said, his character, that it was neither sordid nor severe; that the sums he had mentioned were no more than a present to signalize their meeting, and an earnest of his future munificence. He did not, however, at this time, make any addition to his former bounty, lest it should appear to be extorted from him by fear.

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The soldiers, in appearance satisfied with these declarations, accepted with respect the sum which had been offered to them; submitted to the changes which had been made among their officers, and marched off in divisions by the coast of the Adriatic towards Ariminum. Antony himself, with an escort of cavalry and infantry, composed of men the bravest and most attached to his person, whom he had selected from the whole army, set out for Rome. At his arrival the horse were quartered in the suburbs; he himself, attended by a body of foot, entered the city, had a regular guard mounted in the court of his own house, ordered centinels to be posted, gave the parole, and made every disposition to prevent surprise, as in a military station. Being still vested with the office of Consul, he summoned the Senate to meet on the twenty-fourth of September; and, in the proclamation or summons, declared, that if any Senator absented himself on that day, he should be deemed an accessory to the plot against the Consul's life, which had been lately discovered, and an accomplice in the other wicked designs known to be in agitation against the republic.

Notwithstanding this pompous threat, Antony himself did not attend at the time appointed; but, by another proclamation, he again summoned the Senate to meet on the twenty-eighth of the same month. He intended, on this day, to obtain a decree against Octavius; whom, in all his manifestos, he qualified with the name of

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Spartacus; as having, without any legal authority, presumed to levy war against the State": but, as he entered the porch of the Senate-house, a messenger arrived with accounts that the Legio Martia had deserted with its colours to Octavius. Before he had recovered this shock, another messenger came with a like account of the fourth legion. He entered the Senate, but very much disconcerted, and unprepared to act in circumstances so different from those with which he laid his account. He avoided the mention of Octavius; and pretending to have called the assembly, without any particular business, he made a short speech and adjourned. From this meeting, hearing that one of the revolted legions had taken post at Alba, he instantly repaired to that place, in hopes of reclaiming them; but was received with a discharge of arrows and stones from the battlements, and obliged to retire. Fearing that the remainder of the army would follow this example, he ordered them an additional gratuity of five hundred sestertii, or about four pounds a man. And, to give them an immediate prospect of action, which is often the most effectual means of stifling dangerous humours in an army, he declared his intention to make war on Decimus Brutus, in order to dislodge him from the province of Gaul. In pursuance of this intention, he ordered his equipage for the field, and set up his standard at Tibur, to which place he expected that all his friends and adherents would repair.

Antony, being joined by the last of the troops from Macedonia, had still three legions belonging to that army; and these, together with the veterans settled in the neighbourhood of Tibur, who came with their ensigns and colours to offer their services, amounted in all to four legions, besides the ordinary attendance of irregular troops, and the crowds of people that flocked to his standard. With this

* Cicer. Philipp. iii. c. 8. et ii. c. 11.

formidable power, having for a few days overawed the city, and drawn around him the greatest part of the Senate, and of the Equestrian order, with many of the people who had so lately declared for his rival, and who, in the contests of such parties, ever yield to the present power, and are the property of him who can best work on their fears; he set out on his march to Ariminum, the last place of Italy on the frontier of Gaul.

Octavius at the same time had assembled his forces at Alba, consisting of the two legions who had lately come over to him from Antony, one legion of new levies, together with two of the veterans lately embodied, which, not being full, were completed with the choice of his new-raised men. He made a report to the Senate of the number and description of the troops he had thus assembled, and received their thanks and congratulations. It is nevertheless probable, that his services were received by this body with great distrust of their own situation, and of his designs.

Had the Senate been free to choose on whose swords they were to rely for the defence of their cause, those of Cassius and Brutus, with the other conspirators, originally drawn in behalf of the republic, must have appeared the preferable choice. Uncertain, however, of the effect of any direct or public resolution in favour of those who were the authors of Cæsar's death, they left the correspondence to be maintained with them to private persons; and Senators accordingly wrote in their private capacity, to recommend perseverance and the utmost exertion of their zeal. "Such is the state of the republic," says Cicero to Cassius; "even in the calmest times, scarcely able to support itself. What must it be in the present storm? All our hopes are in you. But if you have withdrawn yourselves merely for your own safety, we cannot have hopes, not even in you. If you intend any thing worthy of your own character, I wish I may live to see the effect. The republic,"

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"at any rate, must revive under your efforts". He adjured Decimus Brutus, by the example of Octavius, who, though in a private station, raised armies for the State; he adjured him by the example of the faithful legions who deserted from Antony, to stand by the commonwealth; and in the present crisis to exert himself to the utmost, without waiting for the orders of the Senate".

Cicero had already proclaimed his animosity to Antony, and, besides his zeal for the republic, had a particular interest in abetting any party that was formed against this dangerous enemy. Hearing that he was gone from the city, and that all the forces in its neighbourhood had declared for Octavius, or for the Senate, he himself ventured, on the ninth of December, to return to Rome", and proposed in the Senate that they should decide on the plan they were to follow in this arduous state of their affairs.

"Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xii. ep. 2.

"Ibid. lib. xi. ep. 7.

"Ibid. ep. 5.

CHAP. III.

Situation and Address of Octavius. — Meeting of the Senate. — Progress of Antony. — His March into Gaul. — Message of Octavius to Decimus Brutus. — New Consuls Hirtius and Pansa. — Meeting of the Senate. — Deputation to Antony. — His Answer. — Declared an Enemy. — Advance of Hirtius and Octavius to raise the Siege of Mutina. — Brutus and Cassius confirmed in the Command of all the Eastern Provinces. — Progress of the War in Gaul. — Siege of Mutina raised. — Junction of Antony and Lepidus. — Consulate of Octavius.

WHEN Antony left Rome to take possession of the Cisalpine Gaul, Octavius was in arms at the gates of the city, and, though a mere youth under age, was furnished with every art which age itself could bestow, to qualify him for the part he was to act. He had gained upon the army by donations and promises; upon the Senate by public professions of duty and of zeal for the republic; and, on particular members, by attentions and flattery. The legions, which had lately come over to him from Antony, having exhibited a mock fight, he ordered them, on that occasion, a special gratuity of five hundred sextertii, or four pounds a man; saying, That as this was but the representation of a battle, the reward was proportional; but if he should ever have occasion to employ them in real fights, they should have as many thousands. In this situation, it became necessary for the Senate, either to authorise and to avail themselves of this ultraneous support; or, by refusing it, to drive the veterans, and all

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Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

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the military party which still revered the name of Cæsar, into measures immediately fatal to the republic.

Upon the march of Antony towards Gaul, Octavius had already sent a message to Decimus Brutus¹ with assurances of his aid in defending that province, and of his co-operation every where else in supporting the authority of the Senate. Hitherto men stood in awe of Antony, as being vested with the authority of Consul, and threatening to treat his opponents as rebels to the commonwealth. Even Hirtius and Panfa, destined to succeed him in the Consulship, it was supposed, would scarcely venture to take possession of the office without his consent, and the usual form of his abdication; but the prospect of a vigorous support from Octavius, relieved many from their fears of Antony, and determined them on the part they were to act.

The Senate, under pretence of taking measures that the succeeding Consuls might enter on their office in safety, being assembled by one of the Tribunes on the nineteenth of December, a manifesto was produced from Decimus Brutus, of which no copy remains, but probably stating his right to the province of Gaul, and representing the injustice of Antony in attempting to dislodge him by force. Octavius was at the same time introduced by the Tribune, and pronounced a panegyrick on Brutus². Cicero, in a speech which is still extant, extolled the conduct of the young Cæsar in arming the veterans, as a generous effort made at the hazard of his own life, and of his private fortune, to defend the republic. He applauded the two legions who had lately deserted from Antony; and warmly urged the Senate to support Decimus Brutus in his province. He moved, that thanks should be given to these officers, and to the troops who adhered to them; and that the Consuls, on the first of January, should move the Senate farther to consider of the rewards that were due to the

¹ Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 15. ² Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xi. ep. 6. Ibidem, Philip iii. c. 5.

army, for the faithful services which they had rendered to the commonwealth. These public propositions he blended with a continual and vehement invective against Antony. He obtained decrees of the Senate to the several effects he had proposed; and having carried those decrees to the Comitia or assembly of the People for their approbation, there likewise he supported them with a repetition of the same topics, and with the usual force of his eloquence.

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In the mean time, Antony, being arrived on the frontier of Gaul, dispatched an officer to Decimus Brutus, with a copy of his own commission from the Roman People, and with an order to evacuate the province. To this message he had for answer, that Decimus Brutus held his command by authority of the Roman Senate, who alone, by the laws, were entitled to dispose of the provinces; and that he would not surrender what the laws of his country had enjoined him to defend. Antony, after having to no purpose exchanged repeated messages on this subject, continued his march into the province, and forced Brutus, with two legions and some new levies, that were under his command, to throw himself into Mutina, where he had formed some magazines from the stores and provisions he was able to collect in the neighbourhood, and where he proposed to wait for the succours which he was made to expect from Rome. Antony advanced to Bononia and Claterna, took possession of these places, and having invested Mutina, began to besiege it in form.

Such was the posture of affairs in the end of December, about ten months after the death of Cæsar. On the first of January, the Consuls Pansa and Hirtius, being to enter on the exercise of their office, proceeded to the Senate from the temple, where they had offered the usual sacrifices; and agreeably to the order of the nineteenth of December, moved this assembly, to take under consideration the pre-

U. C. 710.
C. Vibius
Pansa, C. Hirtius, both
killed. Octavius succeeded
Pansa.
Upon his resignation,

* Cicer. Philip. ii.

† Ibid. Philip. iv.

‡ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

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C. Carinus
succeeded
Octavius.
Q. Pedius
succeeded
Hirtius. Ven-
tidius suc-
ceeded Pe-
dius, who
died in office.

sent state of the republic'. Pansa having stated the subject, called upon his father-in-law, Q. Fulvius Calenus to deliver his opinion. This Senator being disposed to favour Antony, advised, that they should not, rashly, take any violent resolution; that they should send a deputation to the late Consul, with instructions from the Senate to lay down his arms, and to return to his duty. This motion was vehemently opposed by Cicero, who, in a speech still extant¹, insisted that Antony was already in effect declared an enemy, and ought to be reduced by force, not gained by negociation and treaty. He recounted the violences committed by him in his late Consulship, particularly the acts which he promulgated under the pretence of Cæsar's memorials and will. "From the foundation of Rome to this present hour," he said, "Antony alone has had the impudence to present himself in this assembly, escorted by a military force. The kings never attempted it. The boldest adventurers, and they who were most forward to revive the kingly power, never ventured so far. I remember Cinna; I have seen Sylla; and, last of all, Cæsar. These were the persons, who, since the expulsion of Tarquin, made the greatest advances to kingly power. I do not say that they were unattended in the Senate, or that their retinue were always unarmed; they were followed only by a few, and with concealed weapons. But this daring assassin paraded in the streets with a military power, moving in cohorts under arms, with all the form of a regular march. He posted a body of archers with their quivers full, and even chests of spare arrows for immediate and continued action, on the very steps by which Senators were to ascend into the temple of Concord; you have ordered public thanks to the troops that have drawn their swords against him; you have extolled the generous magnanimity of a young man,

¹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.² Cicer. Philip. v

"who, without waiting for your commission, brought a hasty power
 "to cover the city from his violence; and are you now deliberating
 "whether you are to soothe his fury with negotiation, or to meet it
 "with force"? If you send deputies to his camp, no matter with
 "what message, you will appear to surrender; you will appear to
 "distrust your own cause; you will damp the ardour of your own
 "troops; and you will shake the faith of the provinces."

Such was the purport of Cicero's speech respecting the conduct of Antony, the merits of Decimus Brutus, of Lepidus, of Octavius, of the legions, and of the veterans; and of L. Egnatuleius the Tribune, who led the Legio Martia in the late choice of their party. In the close of the speech, he moved, That suitable honours should be decreed to each; that the Senate should ratify all the proceedings of Brutus in defending the province of Gaul; that Lepidus should have a statue erected to him; that Octavius should have the rank of Proprator, be confirmed in his present command, and be entitled to sue for the offices of state before the legal age; that three years of the age appointed by law, should be dispensed with in behalf of Egnatuleius; that the veterans, who had taken arms under Octavius, and the legions, who had deserted from Antony to join the standard of the commonwealth, should have the gratuities that were promised to them by Octavius; and at the end of the present war should have grants of land, and a perpetual exemption to themselves and their children from every military service. In his encomium on Brutus, he insinuated the praise that was due to him, as a partner in the conspiracy against Cæsar; but, not to offend the partizans of Octavius, declined entering fully on that subject. He pledged himself for the future behaviour of Octavius. "This admirable young man," he said, "having once tasted of true glory, having found himself held

C. H. A. P. III.

* Cicer. Philip. v.

" forth

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“ forth by the Senate, by the People, and by all orders of men as a
 “ citizen dear to his country, and as the guardian of the common-
 “ wealth, never can place any other species of distinction or honour
 “ in competition with this. If Julius Cæsar had found himself, at so
 “ early a period of life, in such an illustrious point of view, he never
 “ would have sought for preferment by courting the populace, nor
 “ have betaken himself to measures incompatible with the safety of
 “ his country. The mind of this young man is perfectly known to
 “ me. Love of the republic, respect to the Senate, deference to good
 “ men, the desire of real glory, are his ruling passions. I will there-
 “ fore venture to pledge my honour in the most positive assurances to
 “ you, to the Roman People, and to the commonwealth. I promise,
 “ I undertake, I engage that C. Cæsar will continue towards the re-
 “ public this conduct which he now holds, and that he will always
 “ be what you wish, and what you would chuse that he should
 “ be.”

Octavius, we may suppose, had in some measure blinded Cicero with his flattery; yet in this panegyric there was probably more of what the orator wished to recommend to Octavius, than of what he believed to be his original intention; but this designing young man was not to be caught in such snares. He knew too well how to retort these artifices, even at an age, when others scarcely knew that such arts are practised; and the experienced Cicero, with all the penetration and wit for which he was eminent, was the dupe of a youth who possessed the deepest of all artifices, that of suffering himself in appearance to be deceived, while in reality he employed the cunning of others to his own purpose.”

L. Piso, with a considerable party in the Senate, inclined to moderate the resolutions that were proposed against Antony. He con-

tended that no Roman citizen could be condemned unheard; that the Senate could do no more than appoint him a day of trial, and cite him to answer for himself. The time of the first meeting being already spent in this debate, the Senate adjourned; and the subject being resumed on the following day, it is said "that Fufius Calenus, with a torrent of abuse and reproach, retorted on Cicero the invective which, on the preceding day, he had pronounced against Antony. He reproached him with the obscurity of his birth, and accused him of a presumption, which was supported only by a talent for declamation, often employed by him against the best citizens, never in bringing real criminals of state to punishment: "What have you done," he said, accosting Cicero, "either at home "or abroad, to merit the high degree of consideration to which "you lay claim? In what war have we ever prevailed under your "auspices? What accession of territory have you ever gained to the "Roman state? Even in respect to your boasted talent for speaking, "you do but impose upon the world the labours of retirement for "the prompt effusions of eloquence; and you publish harangues, "which you had neither the invention to conceive, nor the courage "to deliver in the face of any public assembly, or in the midst of any "real affairs." He accused Cicero of having forced Cataline into rebellion, and of having put to death, without any trial, Cornelius Lentulus, and other Roman citizens of rank; of having lighted the fire of dissention among the leaders of the present unhappy divisions that continued to tear the republic, and of having blown up the flames which still continued to consume the state; of having meanly abandoned the cause of Pompey upon his defeat at Pharsalia, and of having instigated assassins to take away the life of Cæsar, even after he himself had implored his mercy, and accepted of his protection.

" Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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He reproached him with a fresh instance of ingratitude, in this attempt to turn the arms of the republic against the late Consul, to whose clemency he himself was indebted for his life. Having mixed this invective with the defence, and even with the praises of Antony, he concluded with calling upon the Senate to consider how absurd it would be declare war upon a magistrate, who acted by commission from the Roman People, at the head of an army, of which they had given him the command, and in the very province which they had committed to his government; and this merely in support of a young man who had presumed, without any public authority, to levy war against a Roman officer of the highest rank, and in favour of a rebel who had presumed forcibly to retain a province, which the Roman People had ordered him to surrender. "Such men," he said, "were indeed the enemies of the republic; but he did not move for any formal declaration against them. The times," he observed, "will not suffer us to do all that ought to be done." He moved only that messengers should be instantly dispatched to all the parties at war in this unfortunate contest; that all of them should be required to lay down their arms, and to submit to the decisions of the Senate; that if any one of them should disobey, it would then be full time to declare him a public enemy, and to give to the Consuls the usual and regular powers to guard the safety of the commonwealth, and to reduce disorderly subjects to their duty".

Such are the abuses of an admired art, as vile and odious in its falsehoods, as in the genuine effusions of truth it is noble and respectable; and this speech, compared with some of the former, which were delivered relating to the same persons, may serve to exhibit the variety of colours with which the same subjects and characters may be covered in debate, and by which public assemblies may be per-

²² Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 18. lib. xlvii. c. 28.

plexed in their councils. The majority of the Senate were aware however of Antony's designs, and knew the danger of suffering him to get a military establishment, and the possession of a formidable army within the Alps; and they would probably have come to a severe resolution, if one of the Tribunes had not interposed for that day, and forbid their proceeding any farther on the subject.

The Senate was again adjourned until the next morning, and in the mean time the relations and family of Antony, his mother, his wife, his children, and intimate friends went into mourning, passed the night in visiting the principal members, or in waiting for the People, as they passed in the streets, to implore their protection. When the Senate was about to assemble, this company of suppliants took their station on the steps of the temple, and embraced the knees of the members as they passed.

This solemn council, when met, on coming to the question, took, as is common on such occasions, a middle course between the extremes which were pointed out to them. They so far treated Antony as a friend, as to order a deputation of their own members to attend him in his camp; but the message which they sent by this deputation, sounded more like a declaration of war, than an overture of reconciliation or of a peace¹³. They commanded him "not to disturb in his government Decimus Brutus, whom they qualified with the appellation of Consul-elect; not to lay siege to Mutina; not to lay waste the province; not to make any levies of forces, or to presume to continue in arms against the authority of the Senate."

L. Piso, Philippus, and Servius Sulpicius, being deputed to carry these orders, had farther in charge to signify to Decimus Brutus, and to the troops under his command, the intire approbation of the Se-

¹³ Cicero ad Familiar. lib. xii. ep. 24.

¹⁴ Decimus Brutus was already destined to succeed in the Consulate of the following year.

nate, and the high esteem and honour in " which they were held on account of their conduct. The Senate at the same time entered, on their own records, the honorary decrees which had been passed in favour of Decimus Brutus, Octavius, Egnatuleius, and the army, in terms that had been proposed by Cicero; and resolved, that the gratuities already paid by Octavius to the veterans, and to the legions who had lately come over from Antony, should be refunded from the treasury; that lands should be allotted, and a continual exemption be given to them from all military service after the present war.

When the deputies were gone with the message which they had received from the Senate, the party of Antony at Rome endeavoured to alarm the People, and to load his enemies with all the consequences that were likely to follow from the late resolutions. They extolled the happy effects of moderation and peace, observed that Antony was a person of a daring and impetuous spirit, and ought not to have been incensed; that his party was strong; and in case of a rupture, would be joined by numbers of profligate men, for whom no attempt was too arduous, and against whom the friends of the republic could not be too much on their guard¹⁵.

While men were amused with such discourses at Rome, Servius Sulpicius, one of the three deputies on whom the Senate chiefly relied for the effect of their commission, died on the journey. The other two were kindly received by Antony, and admitted without any jealousy or distrust to visit the approaches he had made, and the works he had erected, against the town of Mutina.

While the siege was continued without interruption, the commissioners were received with affected submission to the orders of the Senate; were told that Antony would evacuate the province, disband

¹⁵ Cicer. Philip. vi.¹⁶ I. id. Philip. vii.

his army, and return to a private station; that he would forget the past, and agree to a sincere reconciliation, provided that the legions then under his command, that his cavalry and his guards were properly rewarded and accommodated with grants of land, and put upon the same footing in all these respects with the troops of Octavius; provided that the arrangement of the provinces, which he had made in conjunction with Dolabella, should be confirmed; that the acts taken from the will and memoirs of his late colleague should be ratified; that no account should be required of the money which he had taken from the temple of Ops; that the Septemviri, or commissioners of the treasury, should not suffer for what they had done in delivering it into his hands; that a general indemnity should pass in favour of all his adherents; that his act relating to judicatures should not be repealed; that upon these conditions he would evacuate the Gallia Togata", but retain the Comata", with six legions, to be completed with draughts from the troops now under Decimus Brutus; that he should have this force as long as Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius should remain under arms; and that, at any rate, he should retain his division of the province for five years.

In this plan of accommodation, Antony endeavoured to frustrate the principal articles, by means of the conditions which he took care to subjoin; and, in order intirely to defeat the purpose of his antagonists, he sent to Rome, in the company of the deputies of the Senate, his Quæstor, of the name of Cotyla, with orders to solicit his interest, and to intrigue with the Senators and principal citizens". Complaining of the ascendant his enemies had gained in the Senate, "With what countenance," he said, "can they arraign the administration of Cæsar, while they submit to that of Cicero? If they allege that Cæsar was an usurper, what is this Cicero, who

" Within the Alps.

" Beyond the Alps.

" Cicer. Philip. viii.

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"pretends to dictate to the Roman Senate, and to suspend the orders
 "of the Roman People? Let him know that I claim the province of
 "Gaul, in consequence of an appointment from the highest autho-
 "rity in the state, and he may be assured that I shall treat Decimus
 "Brutus as a rebel, if he persist in withholding it from me. The
 "life of this traitor shall atone for that noble blood which he shed
 "in the Senate House, and shall expiate that guilt in which Cicero is
 "fast involving the Senate itself²⁰."

Antony, in this commission to his Quæstor, and in his public declarations, joined with the insolence of the matter, affected expressions of submission to the Senate; and made a variety of proposals, either to gain time, or to curry favour with the army, whose interest he pretended to have greatly at heart. The deputies who had been employed on this unsuccessful business, incurred much public censure. It was unworthy of L. Piso and of L. Philippus, it was said, to hold any intercourse with a rebel, who refused to comply with the orders that were sent to him²¹. Under this sense of the matter, at a meeting of the Senate, it was moved, that war should be declared against Antony, and that every Senator should assume the military habit. This motion was agreed to, even by Lucius Cæsar, uncle to Antony; a decree was framed upon it, and passed without opposition, by which the army under his command, were required by a certain day to lay down their arms²².

Upon this resolution, obtained by those who strove for the preservation of the commonwealth, great rejoicings were made over all Italy, and it did not then appear from whence any real danger could arise to the authority of laws, which were so properly supported. The Consuls, it was observed, acted with great vigour; the Senate, the middling class, and the citizens in general, expressed great

²⁰ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.²¹ Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 4.²² Dio. Cass. lib. xli. c. 29, 30. Cicer. Philip. viii.

zeal²³. The People crowded to have their names enrolled in the levies that were ordered²⁴. The reputation which Cicero gained in bringing public affairs into this situation, set him at the head of the commonwealth; but while it placed the whole administration of the state in his hands, it made him an object of great animosity to the opposite party, and of some envy to many persons of principal consideration in his own. It was under the impression of these circumstances, he complained that Senators of the first rank were lukewarm, were timid, or ill affected to the cause of the republic²⁵.

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The conduct of the war was committed to the Consuls, and, jointly with them, to Octavius, in the capacity of Proprætor. Orders were likewise dispatched to Lepidus and to Plancus, to co-operate with these officers. The first was yet on his march into Spain, through the province of Narbonne; the other was posted on the Rhone²⁶. The treasury being so much exhausted by the late embezzlements, that there was not money sufficient for the immediate service, it was agreed that all citizens should pay the five and twentieth part of all their effects; that the Senators should pay, over and above, a certain rate for all the houses or tenements they either possessed or let to tenants, and that in aid of these supplies, requisitions of money and of arms should be made through all the towns of Italy.

In the mean time, Octavius, without waiting for the authority with which the Senate had lately invested him, had followed Antony across the Apennines, and took post with his army at the Forum Cornelia²⁷, on the road from Ariminum²⁸ to Mutina²⁹. The messages which passed between the Senate and Antony, as well as the delays which the Consuls, under the pretence of winter, made in

²³ Cicero, ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 4.

²⁴ Ibid. lib. xi. ep. 8.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 39.

²⁷ Imola.

²⁸ Rimini.

²⁹ Now Modena.

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advancing with their forces, gave him some degree of uneasiness. Panfa was employed at Rome in conducting the new levies. Hirtius, though destined to take the field, and to join Octavius, was still detained by indisposition³⁰. Antony continued the siege of Mutina without interruption.

Octavius, after having sent many pressing messages to hasten the march of the Consul, was at last joined by him at the Forum Cornelli, and they advanced together; forced the posts which Antony had established at Claterna and Bononia, and encamped at the latter of these places³¹. Here they were still separated by the Rhenus and Lavinius from the army of Antony, which covered the siege of Mutina, and were precluded from any communication with the town. They endeavoured, however, to give notice of their approach to the besieged; and for this purpose, the country being flat, they hoisted lights on the highest trees; but not relying entirely on these signals, they employed a dexterous swimmer, who undertook to pass into the town by the channel of the river, and to carry the intelligence of their arrival engraved on a plate of metal.

Upon this information, Brutus was confirmed in his resolution of defending the place to the last extremity, and prevailed on the garrison, under the hopes of a speedy relief, to persevere in the toils and dangers of their present service³².

The Senate, notwithstanding that they considered the preservation of the republic as the common cause of all those who could hope to partake in its honours, and believed that the present Consuls, Hirtius and Panfa, were sincerely embarked in its cause; and notwithstanding the confidence they placed in Octavius as opposed to Antony, they still relied chiefly on those who had taken an active part against the late usurpation of Cæsar, and looked to Brutus and Cassius for a

Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 35, 36.

³¹ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xii. ep. 5.

³² Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 35, 36.

principal support against the remains of that military faction. On this account, they had annulled the proceedings of Antony relating to the distribution of the eastern provinces, reinstated Marcus Brutus in the government of Macedonia, and Cassius in that of Syria; and, by these appointments, placed the whole resources of the commonwealth, from the Adriatic to the utmost boundary of the empire, under their authority²¹.

Marcus Brutus and Cassius had left Italy in the preceding Autumn. Brutus had passed through Lucania. Thither Porcia accompanied him, with the melancholy prospect of parting, perhaps for ever. While she endeavoured to conceal her grief, she was betrayed into tears by the sight of a picture, which represented the parting of Hector and Andromaché. One of the company, without observing the distress which Porcia seemed to feel, repeated from Homer the lines from which this picture was taken. *My father, my brother, and my husband are, Hector, all in thee*²². "But I cannot reply," said Brutus, "in the words of Hector, *go to thy maids, and mind thy loom*; for although Porcia is deficient in strength of body, in her mind she is formed to great affairs²³."

Brutus, having embarked at Elia, sailed into Greece, where he was received with every mark of respect. Here he seemed to devote himself intirely to study; but had his agents employed to provide what was necessary against the storm, which he had reason to expect. He sent Herostratus into Macedonia to sound the disposition of the troops in that province, and drew about himself all the young Romans who were then at Athens, attending the different schools which still supported the reputation of that place.

²¹ Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. iii.

²² Έκτορ, αταρ ου μοι εις πατερ και ποτνια μητερ,

Ηδε καρυινητος.

Iliad. lib. vi. v. 529.

²³ For these particulars, Plutarch quotes young Bibulus, the son of Porcia by a former husband, who was present. Plutarch. in Bruto.

While Brutus remained in Greece, a body of troops, under the command of an officer, named Apuleius³⁶, with a sum of money amounting to sixteen thousand talents, collected from the revenue of Asia, were delivered up to him. The troops who had served lately under Vatinius in Illyricum, being then at Dyrrachium, deserted from their commander to join him³⁷. Those under Caius Antonius, at Appollonia, followed this example. Part of Dolabella's forces, who were marching under Cinna into Asia, likewise left their party to join that of the republic³⁸. As Brutus was considered in Macedonia and Thessaly as reviving the party of Pompey, many who had served under that leader, and were yet dispersed in those parts, flocked to his standard, so that the new levies he had ordered, were soon completed to the amount of four legions and five hundred horse. A great convoy, with spare arms, which Caesar had provided for the Parthian war, and which, by the order of Antony, were then to be again returned into Italy, were intercepted by him at Demetrias. Upon the order of the Senate to put him in possession of Macedonia, the greater part of the province, then under the command of Hortensius, acknowledged his authority. At his departure from Athens, many of the young Roman nobility made a part of his retinue, and among these, the son of Marcus Tullius Cicero, who, though with a genius for letters inferior to that of his father, became nevertheless distinguished as a soldier in the course of the war³⁹.

Cassius, at the same time, had gone with the utmost dispatch into Syria, to prevent Dolabella, who was sent by the opposite party to take possession of that province. He had received some supplies of men and of money from Trebonius, then commanding at Smyrna, and prevailed with part of the cavalry of Dolabella, on their march through the province of Asia, to abandon their leader. With these

³⁶ Cic. Philip. xiii.³⁷ Dio, Cass. lib. xlvii. c. 27.³⁸ Plutarch. in Bruto.³⁹ Ioid.

forces,

forces, he advanced into Cilicia, reduced the city of Tarsus, and continued his march, with a respectable appearance, into his intended province.

At the arrival of Cassius, the forces of Syria were divided, and the opposite parties had actually committed hostilities against each other. The troops which had been stationed there by Julius Cæsar, had even, before his death, mutinied, and had put Sextus Julius, a young man who commanded them, to death. They submitted themselves to the command of Cæcilius Bassus, one of Pompey's officers, who, having escaped from Pharfalia, then lay at Tyre, and in this change of their leader, declared for the party of the republic. They defeated Statius Murcus, whom Cæsar had ordered, with three legions, to reduce them, and made it necessary to bring against them a reinforcement of three legions more from Bythinia, under Marcus Crispus. This officer had accordingly brought these forces, and was actually engaged in the siege of Apamea, to which Bassus had retired when Cassius arrived in Syria.

There were now in this province, engaged on opposite sides, no less than eight legions. Upon the arrival of Cassius, the two legions under Bassus declared for him; and soon after the other six, moved by the authority of his commission from the Senate, or gained by his personal character and address, followed this example. Four more legions, who, intending to join Dolabella, were marching from Egypt through Palestine*, were intercepted, and forced to receive his orders as governor of Syria. His army, by these different accessions, amounted to twelve legions.

Upon the first suspicion that Brutus and Cassius intended to possess themselves of these important provinces, Dolabella, to whom, by the influence of Antony, the command in Syria had been assigned, set

* Dio Cass. lib. xlvij. c. 26, 27, 28.

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out from Rome, and with all possible diligence joined some troops that were placed to receive him on the side of Macedonia, passed the Hellespont, and continued his route to the east. In passing through the province of Asia, he had an interview at Smyrna with Trebonius, professed a friendship for him, affected great respect for his associates in the conspiracy against Cæsar, and a zeal for the restoration of the commonwealth. After this conference with the governor of the province, he put his army in motion with the most pacific appearances on the route to Ephesus; and having by these means put Trebonius off his guard, he returned in the night, surprised the city of Smyrna, seized on the person of the governor, and, with many insults, put him to the torture⁴¹, continuing him under it for some days, in order to extort a discovery of the treasure which he supposed to be hid in some repository of the province; but on the third day, Dolabella having satiated his mind with these cruelties, gave orders that Trebonius should be strangled, his head severed from the body, and exposed on the point of a spear, while the limbs were dragged through the streets.

This murder, being committed on the person of a Roman officer, within the very province in which he was appointed to command, raised a general indignation. Dolabella was declared a public enemy by the Senate. The conduct of the war against him was committed to Caius Cassius, who was now at the head of the armies in Syria, and who, together with Marcus Brutus, was authorised by formal decrees to retain all the forces they had assembled, and all the resources of which they were possessed, and to employ them according to their own judgment, where the service of the republic seemed most to require their exertions⁴².

Thus the flames of war, which were already lighted in Italy, began to extend, and were soon communicated to every part of the

⁴¹ Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii. c. 29.⁴² Cicer. Philip. xi.

empire. The opposite armies before Mutina continued during the winter to observe each other, and in their attempts to give or to withhold relief from the besieged, had frequent skirmishes and partial engagements. The chief direction of affairs at Rome, in the mean time, had devolved on Cicero, who incited the Senate and the People, with all the powers of his eloquence, against Antony. The soldiers in general, with their officers, were notwithstanding inclined to favour this declared enemy of the commonwealth. Ventidius in particular, who professed to range himself under Octavius, was in reality warmly attached to his rival; and, in order to serve him, formed a design to surprise Cicero, and the other heads of the republican party. For this purpose, he assembled a body of veterans in the neighbourhood of Rome, and advanced towards the city; but his design being suspected, and the persons against whom it was directed having taken the alarm, and withdrawn to places of safety, he turned away to the Picenum, and there waited the issue of the campaign⁴³.

The Senate, during the dependance of these operations, as in full possession of the republic, devised laws, to prevent for the future those abuses which had given rise to the present disorders. They resolved, that no extraordinary commission of any kind should be given to any single person, or any provincial appointment prolonged beyond a year⁴⁴. While they were thus employed, separate addresses were presented to them from Lepidus and from Plancus, warmly recommending an accommodation with Antony⁴⁵. Cicero made his observations on this conduct, in a letter to Plancus of the thirteenth of the kalends of April, or twentieth of March; but he delivers himself to Lepidus on the same subject with more warmth, alluding

⁴³ Cicer. Philip. xii. Ibid. ad Familiar. lib. x. ep. 16.

⁴⁴ Dio. Cass. lib. xvi. c. 39.

⁴⁵ Cicer. Philip. xii.

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to some recent honours which had been received by this officer, and for which he neglected to make the proper acknowledgments. "I am glad," he said, "that you wish to reconcile your fellow citizens to each other. If you could procure them peace without slavery, you would perform a most acceptable service to your country, and acquire much honour to yourself; but if, under the title of peace, we are again to become the slaves of a profligate villain, be assured that every man in his senses will prefer death. In my opinion, therefore, it will be wise in you to desist from a proposal, which neither the Senate, the People, nor any good man can approve."

Notwithstanding these sentiments, publicly declared by a person then supposed to be at the head of the republic, numbers in the city and in the Senate espoused the cause of Antony. Piso, at whose house the wife and children of this supposed public enemy were entertained, openly corresponded with him. The Consul Pansa proposed a fresh deputation to him with overtures of peace, and his party in the Senate insidiously offered to devolve the honour of this deputation upon Cicero himself, who rejected the offer, with proper animadversion on the danger to which his life must be exposed in the camp of his enemy, and discussed with his usual eloquence the weakness of the council itself, as well as the great impropriety of his being employed in it.

While this measure was in agitation, Hirtius and Octavius appear to have sent a joint message to Antony, informing him of what had been proposed in the Senate, and desiring a cessation of arms, with liberty to convey some supply to the garrison of Mutina, until the event of the Senate's deliberations should be known. Antony replied in terms calculated to insinuate himself into the favour of the late

⁴⁸ Cicero ad Familiares lib. x. ep. 6—27.

Cæsar's party, and to gain the affection of the army; but full of reproach and contumely against those who pretended to espouse the cause of the commonwealth, and against the authors of the present councils at Rome. These had recently procured a decree of the Senate, full of indignation against the murderers of Trebonius, and had furnished Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius with a commission and warrant to execute public justice against Dolabella on this account. In reference to these circumstances, "I know not (said Antony, in his answer to Hirtius and Octavius) whether I should receive more satisfaction from the death of that villain Trebonius, than I feel indignation at the unjust sentence passed against Dolabella. That the Roman Senate should value the life of that vile fellow Trebonius, more than they did that of Cæsar himself, the father of his country, is surely provoking enough; but what must I feel, when I see you Hirtius, whom Cæsar has raised and adorned so much, that I am persuaded you scarcely know yourself; and when I see you, young man, who have no pretence to consideration besides the name of Cæsar, which you have boldly assumed, contributing all in your power to blast the memory of Cæsar? and when I see you both endeavouring to oppress his friends, committing yourselves, with all the powers of the commonwealth, into the hands of Marcus Brutus and of Caius Cassius, who were his murderers; and when I see you joined against me to rescue from justice this assassin, Decimus Brutus, who had so aggravated a part in the same crime? But, the camp and the head quarters of Pompey it seems are to be formed anew, and to bear the name and the authority of a Roman Senate, and the exile Cicero is to be set up at the head of this reviving party.

"You are employed in avenging the death of Trebonius, I am employed in avenging that of Cæsar; we, who were once the friends of Cæsar, are like a troop of gladiators to part, and from
"opposite

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“opposite sides to fight and to cut one another’s throats under the
 “direction of Cicero, who is become master of the shew ! But for
 “me, I have taken my resolution, and will neither suffer the veterans
 “to be stript of their just rewards, nor the wrongs, which are in-
 “tended to myself and to my friends, to be carried into execution.
 “If in this I am supported, and succeed, life will be sweet ; if I
 “fall, the thought of what you are to suffer, from the very party
 “you are now endeavouring to raise up against me, will even then
 “be some consolation. If the faction of Pompey be so insolent in its
 “ruin, I choose that you, rather than I, should experience the effect
 “of its recovery, and of its return to power.”

Antony, in all his discourses, affected to be in good understand-
 ing with Lepidus and with Plancus, who, he insinuated, were in
 concert with himself, and embarked in the same cause⁴⁷. But what-
 ever secret correspondence these officers may have held together, they
 and Pollio likewise professed the highest duty to the Senate, and af-
 fection to the commonwealth. Plancus having, for some time after
 the commencement of the war, declined any open declaration, now
 informed the Senate in a public address, That he had hitherto been
 taking measures to render the declaration he should make of real
 moment to the republic ; that he had remained silent so long, not
 from any hesitation in the choice of his party, but from a desire
 more effectually to serve that party which he had long since em-
 braced ; that before he declared himself, he had secured the co-ope-
 ration of his officers, the affections of his army, and of the whole
 province in which he was stationed ; that he was now at the head of
 five complete legions well affected to the republic, and, in conse-
 quence of his liberalities, attached to himself ; that the whole pro-
 vince was unanimous in the same cause ; that the People, with a zeal

⁴⁷ Cicer. Philip. xiii.

which

which a concern for their own freedom or safety could not surpass, had taken arms in support of the Roman republic; that he was ready to obey the orders of the Senate, either to retain his command, or to resign it to any person they should appoint to receive it from him; that he would remain in his post, or advance upon the enemy; and by the last of these measures, if it should be thought expedient, draw upon himself the whole weight of the war; that provided he could, by any means, re-establish the commonwealth, or defer its ruin, the manner of doing it was indifferent to him. Others, he said, had declared themselves for the Senate, while that body, being greatly alarmed, was lavish of its commendations and of its rewards; but that if he had missed the time in which his services were likely to have been most highly valued, he had chosen the occasion which promised from them the greatest benefit to the commonwealth, a consideration which should be to him a sufficient reward for the highest service he could perform⁴⁸.

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Pollio, at the same time, wrote to Cicero, expressing a violent detestation of Antony's party, and of the designs of their leader. To be connected with such a person in any cause, he said, would be grievous; even to have acted under Cæsar, being contrary to his disposition and to his principles, was, notwithstanding the circumstances which obliged him to it, now become sufficient matter of regret. The experience of his condition under that usurper had made him more sensible of the value of freedom, and of the misery of dependence and servitude. "If any one for the future," he continued, "shall pretend to usurp such powers, he shall find in me an open and declared enemy. There is no danger to which I will not expose myself in the cause of freedom⁴⁹."

⁴⁸ Cicero, ad Famil. lib. x. c. 8.

⁴⁹ Ibid. c. 31.

While

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While the party of the Senate appeared to gain such accessions of strength by the declaration of so many military officers in the different provinces, Decimus Brutus was reduced to great straits at Mutina; and waited, under many circumstances of distress, for the opening of a campaign, in which he expected that his own fate, and that of the republic, might soon be determined. On the approach of the proper season, the Consul Panfa, with the levies he had made, amounting to four legions, marched towards Gaul, and being arrived at Bononia on the fourteenth of April, was next day to have joined his colleague, who had taken post with Octavius to observe, and to impede the progress of the siege. To facilitate their junction, Hirtius had detached the legion which was called the Martia, with two Prætorian bands, to occupy the passes, and to strengthen the van of Panfa's army, in case they should be disturbed on their march. Antony, at the same time, having intelligence of their route, marched in the night with two chosen legions, the second and third, two Prætorian cohorts, being veteran and experienced troops, with a numerous body of irregulars and horse. He took post at a village, which was called the Forum Gallorum, and posting the horse and irregulars in open view in the field, at some distance from the village, he placed the legions and irregular infantry in ambuscade under the cover of the houses.

When Panfa's army, led by the detachment which Hirtius had sent to receive them, came in sight of Antony's horse and irregulars, they could not be restrained until the posture and strength of the enemy were examined. They broke from their ranks, and, without waiting till the village should be visited, they rushed through a defile in a wood or morass to intercept the enemy, who, appearing to consist of horse and light infantry alone, could, as they apprehended, have no hopes of safety but by endeavouring to escape, which it was necessary by an immediate attack to prevent. As the foremost of Panfa's

army were passing in the most disorderly manner from this defile, in pursuit of their supposed prey, Antony, with the legions, placed himself in their way, and forced him to fly with great slaughter. Panfa himself was dangerously wounded, and his army obliged to take refuge in the camp from which they had marched in the morning. Here too Antony attempted to force them, but was repulsed; and fearing that his own retreat might be cut off, took his resolution to retire, and endeavoured, without loss of time, to rejoin the main body of his army which lay before Mutina.

Antony was soon justified in his apprehensions of the danger to which the further pursuit of his victory over Panfa might have exposed him; for Hirtius, having intelligence of the movement he had made in the night, though too late to prevent its effects, had left his camp with twenty cohorts of veterans, arrived at the Forum Gallorum, and was in possession of the very ground on which Panfa had been defeated, when Antony, returning from the pursuit of his victory, fell, in his turn, into the same snare which he himself, a few hours before, had so successfully laid for his enemy, was accordingly surprised and defeated with great slaughter, and with the loss of the eagles or standards of both the legions, and of sixty ensigns of the cohorts. After this disaster he himself, having fled with the cavalry, arrived about ten at night in his camp before Mutina³⁰, from thence sent detachments abroad to collect the remains of his scattered party, or to facilitate their retreat³¹.

Panfa having been carried to Bononia on account of the wounds he had received, Hirtius took the command of his division of the army, and effected its junction with his own, and with that of Octavius.

³⁰ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. x. ep. 30.

³¹ Appian, de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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In this state of affairs, Antony being considerably weakened by his loss in the late action, and the enemy greatly reinforced by their junction, he determined to keep within his lines, to continue the blockade of Mutina, and to await the effect of the distress into which he had already reduced the besieged. The danger to which Decimus Brutus, with the garrison, were exposed, at the same time hastened the endeavours of Hirtius and Octavius to force the besiegers to battle. For this purpose, or in order to relieve the town, they made a feint to throw in succours on a side which the besiegers had deemed inaccessible, and which, on this account, they had but slightly guarded. Antony, alarmed by this attempt to render abortive all the labours he had sustained in the preceding blockade, drew forth his army to oppose them, and by this movement exposed himself to the hazard of a general engagement. While he was making his disposition to receive the enemy in the field, his lines were attacked by a sally from the town, and it became necessary to divide his forces. He himself, with that part of his army which remained with him to make head against Hirtius and Octavius, was defeated, fled to his camp, and, being pursued thither, continued to give way, until the action ended by the death of the Consul Hirtius, who, after he had forced the intrenchments of the enemy, was killed, and fell near to the Prætorium or head-quarters of their general.

Upon this event, Octavius, not having the qualities of a soldier which were necessary to replace the Consul, suffered the victorious army, thus checked by the loss of their commander, to be driven back from the ground they had gained, and left Antony again in possession of his works.

The vanquished party, however, feeling all the effects of a defeat, and not being in condition to continue the siege, resolved to decamp in the night; and they executed this resolution unobserved and unmolested by their enemies, either from the town of Mutina

of the camp. Octavius had a courage and ability more fit for the council than for the field; and Decimus Brutus, though at break of day he observed that the lines of the besiegers seemed to be evacuated, yet, as he had no intelligence from the camp, remained all that day in suspense. Even after he had received information of what had passed, of the various events of the action, and of the Consul's death, and found, that he was from thenceforward to depend on Octavius for support and co-operation in the war, being greatly alarmed by the neglect which this young man had shown in not joining him the moment the communication between them was open; and not being in condition to act alone, having neither cavalry nor baggage-horses, and the troops being greatly reduced by the hardships they had suffered, he was obliged to remain inactive while the enemy continued their retreat undisturbed¹¹.

On the second day after the battle, Decimus Brutus, being sent for by Panfa to Bononia to concert the future operations of the war, he learned, on his way, that this Consul was dead of his wounds.

By these delays Antony had got two days march a-head, and, without halting, reached the fens of Sabatta on the coast of Liguria. Here the country being of difficult access he thought himself secure, and made a halt, to consider of his future operations. At the same time Ventidius, who, upon the news of the defeat of his friend at Mutina, had passed the Apennines by hasty marches, followed and joined him at this place¹².

In the first accounts of Antony's defeat that were carried to Rome, it was reported, that his army had been intirely routed; that he himself had escaped from the field of battle with only a few broken remains of his infantry unarmed; and that to recruit his numbers,

¹¹ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 13.

¹² Ibid.

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he had broken open the work-houses, and set loose and enlisted the slaves³⁴.

Upon these representations the Senate were greatly elated; and, amidst the acclamations of the People, ordered a feast of thanksgiving, which was to last for sixty days, and renewed the proclamation in which Antony, and all who had served under his command, were declared to have forfeited all the rights of citizens, and to be enemies of their country³⁵.

The commonwealth being deprived of its legal head by the death of both the Consuls, Decimus Brutus, as next in succession, according to the arrangement which had been made for the ensuing year, became the principal object of consideration with the Senate; and being supposed most deeply interested in the preservation of the republic, was the person on whom they chiefly relied for the support of their cause. The Senators, accordingly, seemed to drop at once the high regard which they had hitherto paid to Octavius, and overlooking his pretensions and his influence over the army, gave to Brutus the command of all their forces, whether in Italy or in Gaul.

Thus ended the connection of the young Cæsar with the friends of the republic, an alliance which had, on both sides, probably been equally insincere. The young man, pretending to have his eyes opened by this conduct of the Senate, and supposing that the party of Antony was less hostile to himself, than that which had now gained the ascendant in the commonwealth, he slighted the instructions which were sent to him to take his orders from Brutus, retained the command not only of the troops which had followed his own standard, but the command likewise of a legion which had been raised for the republic by Panfa³⁶. He refused to co-operate with Decimus Brutus

³⁴ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 10.

³⁵ Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 39.

³⁶ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 20.

in pursuing the late victory against Antony, and had influence enough with different bodies of the army, particularly with the fourth legion and the Martia, to hinder their obeying the orders they had received from Rome¹⁷.

In this manner, as the respect which was paid to Octavius by the Senate vanished with the occasion which they had for his services; so all the professions he made of concern for the republic, and of zeal for its restoration, disappeared, with the interest which led him to make those professions. And Decimus Brutus, the person now acknowledged by the Senate as Consul Elect, and head of the republic, for whose relief Octavius affected to have assembled his forces, was left by him to finish the remains of the war against Antony, at the head of such troops as had any degree of attachment to the cause of the republic.

Decimus Brutus, when the war broke out, had a military chest of forty thousand Sestertia, about three hundred and twenty thousand pounds; but the whole was now expended, and his own credit likewise exhausted. He was, from this time forward, ill supported at Rome, all motions made in his favour being opposed by the party of Octavius, as well as by that of Antony. The troops that adhered to him amounted to seven legions; these he subsisted by such resources as he himself could command. He advanced to Dortona on the fourth of May¹⁸; and from thence continuing his march till within thirty miles of the enemy, he received intelligence, that Antony, in a speech to his army, had declared his intention to pass the Alps, and to cast himself intirely on the friendship of Lepidus, in whose disposition he professed to have great confidence; that this proposal being disagreeable to the army, they had declared their resolution to remain in Italy, and exclaimed, That there they would conquer, or perish; that Antony had been disconcerted by this declaration,

¹⁷ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 10. 19.

¹⁸ Ibid. ep. 10.

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and had continued a whole day undetermined as to his future operations; but in order to conform himself to the inclination of the army, and, if possible, to keep his footing in Italy, he was about to surprise Pollentia, a fortified place on the Tenarus, and had detached Trebellius with a body of cavalry for this purpose.

Decimus Brutus, upon this intelligence, sent forward three cohorts to prevent the design on Pollentia; and these having effected their march in time to secure the place, the enemy, by this disappointment, notwithstanding their late resolution to remain in Italy, were under a necessity of passing the Alps⁵⁹. They undertook this difficult march so ill provided with every necessary, that, according to Plutarch, they had no subsistence but what was found on the route, consisting chiefly of wild herbs, fruits, and animals not commonly used for human food; but Antony himself discovered a patience and a force of mind which no man, judging by his usual way of life, could have expected from him; and, by his own example, supported the spirits of his men through the greatest distresses⁶⁰.

Lepidus, in consequence of the Senate's instructions, or of his own desire to be at hand to take such measures as the state of the war in Italy might require, had discontinued the march of his army into Spain, and returning through the province of Narbonne, had passed the Rhône at its confluence with the Soane; and now, hearing of Antony's march, descended on the left of these rivers, and took a situation to intercept him, not far from the coast at the Forum Vocontium, on a small river called the Argenteum, which empties itself into the sea at Forum Julii⁶¹.

In the mean time, Antony had passed the Alps, and on the fifteenth of May arrived with the first division of his army at Forum Julii, four-and-twenty miles from the station of Lepidus. Vent-

⁵⁹ Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xi. ep. 13.

⁶⁰ Plut. in Antonio.

⁶¹ Frejus.

dus having followed about two days march in the rear of Antony, and having again joined him at this place, their forces consisted⁶² of the second legion intire, with a considerable number of men, but without arms; the broken remains of many legions, together with a body of cavalry, of which, this part of the army having suffered least in the late action, Antony had still a considerable force. But in this position many deserted from him, and his numbers were daily diminishing; Silanus and Culeo, two officers of rank, were among the deserters.

Such was the posture of affairs, on the twenty-first of May, when Lepidus gave to Cicero the strongest assurances⁶³ of zeal for the commonwealth. Plancus, at the same time, had taken post on the Isere⁶⁴, had thrown a bridge over that river, and waited for the arrival of Decimus Brutus, whom he expected to join him by the most ordinary passage of the Alps⁶⁵: but while he lay in this position he received a message from Lepidus, informing him of Antony's approach, and expressing great distrust of many in his own army, whom he suspected of a disposition to join the enemy. Upon these representations, Plancus marched on the twentieth of May, as appears from his dispatches to Rome of this date, expected to join Lepidus in eight days, and hoped, by his presence, to secure the fidelity of the army, which began to be questioned. He wrote, with great confidence, of the zeal and affection of his own troops, and was pleased to say, that he himself, unsupported by any other force, should be able to overwhelm, as he expresses himself, the broken forces of Antony, though joined by the followers of that muleteer Ventidius⁶⁶.

In the mean time, the armies of Antony and Lepidus remaining in sight of each other, frequent messages passed between the leaders; and

⁶² Cicero, ad Familiares. lib. x. ep. 17.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Isura.

⁶⁵ Probably by mount Cenis, or the channels of the Dora Baltea and the Isere.

⁶⁶ Cicero, ad Familiares. lib. x. ep. 13.

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as no hostilities were committed, the soldiers conversed freely together, though without any apparent effect⁶⁷. Lepidus still professed to govern himself by the orders of the Senate, and to employ his army in support of the commonwealth. But while he preserved these appearances, he sent an order to countermand the junction of Plancus; and having convened his own army, as usual, around the platform⁶⁸, from which it was the custom to harangue the troops, he addressed them in a speech, in which he repeated his professions of duty to the republic, and urged a vigorous exertion in the war. "It had not yet appeared to what point these professions were tending, when he was answered with exclamations, which he probably expected, from some leading persons among the soldiers, in which they declared the wishes of the army for peace. Two Roman Consuls, they said, had been already killed in this unnatural quarrel. The best blood of the republic had been spilt, and the most respectable citizens declared enemies of their country; that it was time to sheathe the sword; "for our parts," they said, "we are determined that our arms, "from henceforward, shall not be employed on either side"⁶⁹." From this audience the army of Lepidus proceeded to invite Antony into their camp, and presenting him to their general as a friend, terminated the war between them by a coalition, in appearance forced upon Lepidus, but probably previously concerted with himself.

Antony was now joined with Lepidus in the command of the army which had come to oppose him, and by his popularity, or superior ability, soon got the ascendant of his colleague. He found himself again at the head of a great force, composed of the remains of his late defeat, three legions that had joined him under Ventidius, and seven of which the army of Lepidus consisted⁷⁰.

Plancus, being still upon his march, persisted in his intention to join Lepidus, notwithstanding he had received an order or instruc-

⁶⁷ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

⁶⁸ The Suggestum, most commonly raised of turf.

⁶⁹ Cicero. ad Familiares. lib. x. ep. 21.

⁷⁰ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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tion from himself to the contrary; but having, at last, received positive information of his defection, and considering the danger to which he himself must be exposed with an inferior force against two armies united, he returned to his post on the Isere, and sent pressing instances to hasten the march of Decimus Brutus, and of other succours from Italy⁷¹.

Lepidus, even after the reception of Antony into his camp, addressed the Senate in a solemn declaration, still asserting his affection to the commonwealth, and representing the late change of his measures as the effect of necessity imposed upon him by the troops, who, in a mutinous manner, refused to make war on their fellow-citizens. While he made these professions, he recommended to the Senate the example of the army, exhorted them to drop all private animosities, to make the public good the rule of their conduct, and not to treat as a crime, the humane and merciful disposition which fellow-citizens had exercised towards each other⁷².

At the same time dispatches arrived from Plancus and Decimus Brutus, both treating the pretended mutiny of the army in Gaul as a mere artifice of their general to conceal his own defection⁷³. The city was greatly alarmed, even the populace, affecting a zeal for the authority of the Senate, demolished the statues which had been lately erected to Lepidus. The Senators, incensed not only at his treachery, but at the false professions with which he presumed to address them on the subject, proceeded to declare him a public enemy, and resolved, that all his adherents, who did not return to their duty before the first of September, should be involved in the same sentence. Private instructions were sent, at the same time, to Marcus Brutus, and to Caius Cassius, urging them to hasten the march of their forces for the defence of the capital⁷⁴.

⁷¹ Cic. ad Famil. lib. x. ep. 21.

⁷² Ibid. lib. x. ep. 35.

⁷³ Cic. ad Famil. lib. x. ep. 35.

⁷⁴ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

During these transactions, Octavius remained inactive on the frontiers of Italy. The demise of the two Consuls opened a new scene to his ambition. This event came so opportunely for his purpose, and his own character for intrigue was so much established, that he was suspected of having had an active part in procuring the death of those officers. It was said, that he employed some emissaries to dispatch Hirtius in the heat of battle; and that Panfa's wound, not being mortal, he suborned the person who dressed it, to render it so by an injection of poison. A surgeon, named Glyco, was actually taken into custody on this account; the suspicion remained against Octavius till the last moment of his life, and even made a part in the grievous reproaches with which his memory continued to be loaded after his death⁷⁵. It was rejected, however, at the time, even by Marcus Brutus, who warmly interceded with Cicero in behalf of Glyco, as a person who was himself a great sufferer by Panfa's death, and who bore such a reputation for probity as ought to have secured him against this imputation⁷⁶. The testimony of Marcus Brutus, when given in favour of Octavius, must, no doubt, be admitted as of the greatest authority, and may be allowed, in a great measure, to remove the whole suspicion.

Octavius himself gave out, that Panfa, when dying of his wounds, desired to see him in private, gave him a view of the state of parties, and advised him no longer to remain the tool of those who meant only to demolish the party of Cæsar, in order that they themselves might rise on its ruins. But from the detail of what passed in the interval between the battle of Mutina and the death of Panfa, of which Decimus Brutus sent an account to Cicero, it does not appear that Octavius could have seen Panfa. And it is probable, that this pretended advice of the dying Consul was fabricated afterwards, to

⁷⁵ Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 10.

⁷⁶ Cicer. ad Brutum, ep. 6. edit. Olivet. tom. 9.

justify the part which Octavius took against the Senate²¹. The supposed admonition of Panfa, at any rate, was probably not necessary to dissuade Octavius from continuing to support the republic longer than his own interest required. This was the great rule of his conduct, and if, until that hour, he continued to believe, that the Senate intended to raise him on the ruin of Antony's party, in order that he might become their own master and sovereign of the commonwealth, he fancied surely what was not probable, and what they never professed to be their intention. The restoration of the republican government, and of the Senate's authority, implied, that individuals were to be satisfied with receiving the honours of the republic in their turn; and with this prospect, Octavius himself affected to be satisfied, so long as it suited with the state of his fortunes, to act the part of a republican.

The commonwealth undoubtedly sustained a great loss in the death of the two Consuls. Though trained up under Cæsar, and not possessed of any remarkable share of political virtue, they were men probably of moderate ambition, tenacious of the dignities to which they themselves and every free citizen might aspire, but not covetous of more. They were likely, therefore, to acquiesce in the civil establishment of their country, and by the dignity of their characters, to overawe the more desperate adventurers, whose views and successes were inconsistent with the safety of the commonwealth.

If the Consuls, Hirtius and Panfa, had lived even with such abilities as they possessed, they might have kept Lepidus within the bounds of his duty, they might have prevented Antony from recovering the defeat which he had lately received at Mutina, and obliged Octavius, if not to drop his ambitious designs, at least to defer the execution of them to a more distant period. But, immediately after the death

²¹ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 13.

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of these magistrates, it became evident, that this young man was dissatisfied with his situation and with his party, he not only kept at a distance from Decimus Brutus, but seemed determined not to take any part in the farther operations of the campaign. The prisoners that were in his hands he treated as friends, and by suffering them, without any exchange or ransom, to join their own army, gave hopes that he was ready to treat on reasonable terms of a reconciliation with their general. He, at the same time, took steps with the Senate that seemed to prognosticate a rupture, made application for a triumph, in which neither his age, his rank, nor his share in the late action, or in the victory obtained over Antony, in any degree supported him; and having failed in this attempt, he declared his intention to sue for the office of Consul.

Octavius, when he offered himself as a candidate for the Consulship, according to Dion Cassius, affected to insist that Cicero⁷⁸ should be associated with him in the office⁷⁹, and should take the whole administration on himself. For his own part, he said, that, in this association, he aspired only to the title of Magistrate; that all the world must know, the whole authority of government, and all the glory to be reaped in the public service would redound to his colleague; that, in this request, and in that he had made for a triumph, he had no object but to gain a situation in which he might lay down his arms with honour, as having such a public attestation in behalf of his services⁸⁰.

Cicero, according to the testimony of the same historian, fell into the snare that was laid for him by this artful boy, supported his pretensions, and was willing to become the colleague and the tutor of this reviving Cæsar.

⁷⁸ Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 42.

⁷⁹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

⁸⁰ Cicer. ad Brutum, ep. 10.

Octavius afterwards boasted of the artifice he had employed in this piece of flattery to Cicero, as the only means he had left, at that time, to secure the continuance of his military command⁸¹. But the Senators, and the partizans of the conspirators, in particular, were greatly exasperated. The proposition appeared so strange, that no Tribune, no person in any office, not even any private citizen, could be found to move it⁸². The animosity of Cicero to Antony had already, they thought, carried him too far in supporting the pretensions of this aspiring young man. If he should prevail on the present occasion, all that the Senate had hitherto done to restore the constitution would be fruitless. A person, who presumed to claim the office of Consul at an age so improper, and so far short of that which the law prescribed, was likely, when possessed of this power, to set no bounds to his usurpations. In order, therefore, to elude his requisition, they were obliged to defer the elections, and, in the mean time, appointed ten commissioners under pretence of inquiring into the abuses committed in Antony's administration, and of distributing to the army the gratuities, and of executing the settlements devised for their late services, but probably with a real intention to vest these commissioners with the chief direction of affairs, until it could be determined who should succeed in the office of Consul, and who should be intrusted with the safety of the republic. The partizans of the commonwealth were now, in appearance, superior to their enemies, but far from being secure in possession of the superiority they had gained⁸³.

The Senate, in order to exclude Octavius from this commission, without giving him any particular reason to complain of their partiality, at the same time left out Decimus Brutus; and by this equal exclusion of persons at the head of armies from the management of

⁸¹ Plut. in Cicero.⁸² Cicero, ad Brutum, ep. 10.⁸³ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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affairs, in which the armies were so much concerned, they enabled Octavius to fill the minds of the soldiers with distrust of the civil power, and to state the interests of the civil and military factions as in opposition to each other". He no longer, therefore, disguised his aversion to the Senate; complained, that they treated him disrespectfully, called him a boy, who must be amused", decked out with honours, and afterwards destroyed". "I am excluded," he said, "from the present commission, not from any distrust in me, but "from the same motive from which Decimus Brutus is also excluded, "a general distrust of every person who is likely to espouse the interests of the army; and, from these exclusions, it is evident what "they intend with respect to the claims of the veterans, and with "respect to their expectations of a just reward for their services".

Upon the junction of Antony with Lepidus, the Senate felt the necessity of paying a little more attention than they had lately done to the interests of Octavius. Instead of appointing him to act under Decimus Brutus, as they at first intended, they joined him in the command of the army; and, in this new situation, required him to co-operate in defending Italy against the united forces of Antony and Lepidus.

Octavius instantly communicated to the army these orders of the Senate, with insinuations of the hardships which they were now to undergo on being sent on a fresh service, before they had received the rewards which were promised and due to them for the former; and he proposed, that they should send deputies to the Senate with proper representations on this subject.

A number of Centurions were accordingly selected to carry the mandate of the army to Rome. As they delivered their message in

²⁴ Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi. ep. 20.

This saying was imputed to Cicero, but is peremptorily denied.

²⁵ Ibid. ep. 21.

²⁶ Laudandum adolescentem, ornandum,

²⁷ Sueton. in Octavio, c. 12.

collendum.—This last word is ambiguous.

name of the legions, without any mention of Octavius, this was thought a favourable opportunity to negotiate directly with the troops, without consulting their leader; and the Senate accordingly sent a commission for this purpose, with hopes that they might be able to detach the whole army from their general, or that at least they might be able to engage, in their own cause, those legions in particular, who had deserted from Antony, with professions of zeal for the commonwealth.

Octavius, to counteract this design before the commissioners employed in the execution of it arrived, drew forth his army, and in a speech complained of this and of the former injuries he had received from the Senate: "Their intention," he said, "is to cut off separately all the leaders of Cæsar's party. When they have accomplished this purpose, the army too must fall at their feet". They will recall the grants of land which have been made to you, and will deprive you of the just reward of all your faithful services. They charge me with ambition; but what evidence is there of my ambition? Have I not declined the dignity of Prætor, when you offered to procure it for me?—My motive is not ambition, but the love of my country; and for this I am willing to run any hazard to which I myself may be exposed; but cannot endure, upon any account, that you should be stripped of what you have so dearly bought by your services in the public cause. It is now become evident, that, in order to prevent the most dangerous powers from coming into the hands of your enemies, and in order to ensure the rewards to which you are so justly intitled, it is necessary that your friends should be raised to the head of the commonwealth. In the capacity of Consul I shall be able to do justice to your merits; to punish the murderers of my father, to be re-

" Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

" venged.

“ venged of your enemies, and at last to bring these unhappy domestic dissensions to an end.”

This harangue was returned with acclamations of joy, and a second deputation, to be escorted by four hundred men, was instantly appointed from the army, demanding the Consulate for their general. The officers employed in this service were repeatedly admitted to audiences in the Senate⁸⁹. In answer to the objections which were drawn from the defects of their general's age and title, they urged former precedents; that of Scipio, of Dolabella, and the special acts relating to Octavius himself, in whose favour ten years of the legal age were already dispensed with. One of the officers in this singular deputation, while the Senate proposed a delay in order to deliberate on the matter, is said to have shown the hilt of his dagger; and some one of the party who escorted the deputies, in resuming his arms at the door of the Senate-house, was heard to say, in girding the belt of his sword, *If you will not confer the Consulate on Octavius, this shall.* To these menacing insinuations, Cicero, who had jokes imputed to him, on occasions that were equally serious to himself and to the republic, is said to have replied, *Nay, if you pray in that language, you will surely be heard.*

While the Senate delayed giving any direct answer to this military demand, they again sent a deputation of their own members with money to be distributed to the legions, hoping, by this means, to divert them from the project which they had formed in favour of their general. But Octavius, being secretly apprised that a sum of money was sent to corrupt his army, and observing that the soldiers were impatient at having no immediate return to their own message, chose not to wait the trial of this dangerous experiment, separated the legions into two columns, marched directly to Rome; and on his

⁸⁹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

⁹⁰ Dio. Cass. lib. xli. c. 42.

way being met by the deputies of the Senate, he commanded them, at their peril, not to approach the army, or to interrupt its march.

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Upon the news of his approach, the city was thrown into great consternation. The Senate, believing they had erred in offering too little money to the troops, ordered the former bounty to be doubled²¹. They resolved that Octavius should be admitted to the Consulate; or, according to Dion Cassius, that he should have the title and ensigns of Consul, but without the actual power; that he should have a place in the Senate among those who had been Consuls; that he should be Prætor at the first elections, and Consul at the following²². And thus having done enough to show their fears, but not to disarm, or to lull the ambition of this presumptuous young man, they sent new deputies, with every symptom of trepidation and alarm, to intimate these resolutions.

Soon after this deputation from the Senate was dispatched, two legions, lately transported from Africa, and ordered for the defence of the city, having arrived at the gates, the Senators, with their party among the People, resumed their courage: they were even disposed to recall their late concessions, and began to exclaim, that it were better to perish in defending their liberties, than, without any struggle, to fall a prey to their enemies. Persons of every description assumed the military dress, and ran to their arms.

There were now at Rome three legions, with a thousand horse; one legion having been left there by Pansa when he marched towards Gaul. These troops were posted on the side from which the enemy was expected, on the Janiculum and the bridge which led from thence to the city. Gallies were ordered to be in readiness at Ostia,

²¹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

²² Dio. Cass. lib. xli. c. 41.

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to convey the public treasure beyond the sea, in case it should become necessary to take this measure to save it: and it was determined to seize the mother and sister of Octavius²³, who were then supposed to be at Rome, and to detain them as hostages. But this intention was frustrated by the timely escape of these women, who, apprehending some danger, had already withdrawn from the city. Their flight, or the early precaution which they themselves, or their friends, had taken in this matter, was considered as the evidence of a long premeditated design on the part of Octavius.

Under this impression, and that of the superior force with which it was known Octavius was prepared to assail them, the Senators again lost hopes of being able to resist; but they flattered themselves, that the resolution they had taken to defend the city, would not be known in time to prevent their first message to the army from being delivered. Their concessions were accordingly published among the troops; but appearing to be forced, were received with contempt, and served only to encourage the presumption of the soldiers, and to hasten their march. As the army drew near to the city, all the approaches were deserted by those who had been placed to defend them, and the advanced guard of Octavius passed to the Mons Quirinalis, without being met by any person in the quality either of friend or of enemy. But, after a little pause, numbers of his own party among the people having gone forth to receive him, the streets were instantly crowded with persons of all ranks, who hastened to pay their court²⁴.

Octavius having halted his army during the night in the first streets, which they entered; on the following day, with a proper escort, and amidst the shouts and acclamations of the multitude, took possession

²³ Appian de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.²⁴ Ibid.

of the Forum. The troops who had been assembled to oppose him, at the same time left their stations, and made an offer of their services. Cornutus, one of the officers who commanded those troops, having in vain endeavoured to prevent this defection, killed himself. Cicero is said to have desired a conference with his young friend; but when he seemed to presume on his former connection, was coldly answered, That he had been slow in his present advances.

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In the following night a rumour was spread, that the Martia and the fourth legion, which made a part in the army of Octavius, but supposed to be particularly attached to the Senate, on account of the late honorary decrees which had passed in their favour, had declared against the violent measures of their leader; that they offered to protect the Senate and People in their legal assemblies, and in any resolutions they should form on the present state of the republic. Numbers of Senators believed this report, and were about to resume their meetings. Crassus, one of the Prætors, set out for the Picenum, where he had considerable influence, in order to assemble what forces he could raise to secure the success of this design; but before morning this report was known to be groundless, and all orders of men returned to their former dejection and submission.

At break of day Octavius removed the army from the streets of Rome into the Campus Martius. He did not suffer any acts of cruelty to be committed, or make any inquiry after those who had been forward in opposing his claims. He affected the clemency of his late uncle; but like him too, without any scruple, laid his hands on the public treasure, made a distribution to the army of the sums which had been first decreed to them; and engaged for himself, soon after, to add from his own estate what had been successively promised. Having ordered that the election of Consuls should immediately proceed, he withdrew with the army, affecting to leave the People to a

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free choice. And being himself elected, together with Q. Pedius, whom, without any mention of Cicero, he had recommended for this purpose, he returned in solemn procession to offer the sacrifices usual on such occasions, and entered on his office on the twenty-first of September, the day before he completed his twentieth year²⁵.

On this occasion the young Cæsar, in the capacity of Consul, made a speech to the troops, acknowledging their services; but avoided imputing to their interposition the honours which he had recently obtained in the city. For these honours he returned his thanks to the Senate, and to the assemblies of the People. These he accosted as the sovereigns of the empire; and was answered by an affected belief of his sincerity.

In the same spirit of servility with which so many honours had been decreed to Julius Cæsar, it was enacted, that Octavius should for ever take rank of every Consul, and the command of every general, at the head of his own army; that he should have an unlimited commission to levy troops, and to employ them where the necessities of the State might require²⁶; that his adoption into the family of Cæsar should now be ratified in the most solemn manner by the assembly of the Curizæ; a form which the laws of the republic required in every such case, and in which he had been formerly prevented by the intrigues of Antony; that the act declaring Dolabella an enemy of his country should be repealed, and an inquest set on foot for the trial of those who had been concerned in the death of Julius Cæsar.

In consequence of this establishment, numbers were cited, and upon their non-appearance were condemned. Among these were Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius. In giving sentence against them,

²⁵ Vell. Paternulus, lib. ii. c. 65.²⁶ Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 39.

the judges affected to shew their ballots; and a citizen, of the name of Silicius Coronas, being of the number, likewise held up his ballot into public view; but, in the midst of this tide of servility and adulation, had the courage to acquit the accused. His courage for the present passed without animadversion, but he was reserved, with silent resentment, as an object of future punishment.

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Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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Proceedings of the new Consul.—State of the Eastern Provinces.—Interview of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, with their Coalition.—The Proscription or Massacre.—Death of Cicero.—Sequel of the Massacre.—Succession of Consuls.—Severe Exaction of Taxes.—State of Sextus Pompeius.—Movements of Antony and Octavius respectively.—Both bend their Course to the East.—Posture and Operations of Brutus and Cassius.—Their Arrival and Progress in Europe.—Campaign at Philippi.—First Action and Death of Cassius.—Second Action and Death of Brutus.

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THE republic, of which Octavius was now, in appearance, the legal magistrate, had declared open war against Antony and Lepidus; and, in consequence of this declaration, the forces of Decimus Brutus and of Plancus, as has been mentioned, had advanced to the Rhône and the Isère, but had been obliged again to retreat, in order to avoid coming to action with a superior enemy. It was considered, therefore, as the first object of the Consul to reinforce that army of the republic, and to carry the decrees of the Senate into execution against those who presumed to dispute their authority. He accordingly marched from the city as upon this design; but it soon after appeared, that he had been some time in correspondence with these supposed enemies of their country; that he intended to join them against the Senate, and, with their forces united, to resist the storm which was gathering against them in the East under the governors of Macedonia and Syria.

While the siege of Mutina was still in dependance, Marcus Brutus had drawn his forces towards the coast of Epirus, with intention to pass into Italy; but having received a report that Dolabella, then in the province of Asia, had transported a body of men from thence to the Chersonesus¹, and that he seemed to intend the invasion of Macedonia, he was obliged to return for the defence of his own province; and from thence forward, by the state of the war in Syria was hindered, during some time, from taking any part in the affairs of the West.

Dolabella, in consequence of his appointment to the government of Syria, after the murder of Trebonius, had assembled a fleet on the coast, to accompany the march of his army by land, and to dispute the possession of that province with Cassius². His operations, however, began in that quarter with his receiving a great check to his hopes in the defeat of his fleet; his galleys having been dispersed, and all his transports taken by Lentulus, who had served under Trebonius, and who now commanded the fleets of Brutus and Cassius in those seas³. Notwithstanding this defeat of his forces at sea, he advanced by land into Cilicia; and while his antagonist lay in Palestine, to intercept the legions that were coming to join him from Egypt, he made considerable levies, took possession of Tarsus, reduced the party which Cassius had left at Æga, and proceeded to Antioch; but finding the gates of this town were shut against him, he continued his march to Laodiceæ, where he was admitted; being determined to make a stand at this place, he again assembled the remains of his fleet, in order to bring his supply of stores and provisions by sea⁴. Having encamped and intrenched his army close to the walls of Laodiceæ, he threw down part of the ramparts, to open a communication between his camp and the town⁵.

¹ Sic. ad Brutum, ep. 2.

⁴ Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii. c. 30.

² Cic. ad Famil. lib. xii. ep. 12.

⁵ Cic. ad. Famil. lib. xii. ep. 13.

³ Ibid. ep. 15.

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Cassius having intelligence of this progress made by Dolabella in Syria, and of his dispositions to secure Laodiceæ, prepared to dislodge him from thence. For this purpose he advanced to Pallos, at the distance of twenty miles from the enemy's station, and took measures, by cutting off his supplies both by sea and by land, to reduce him by famine. In execution of this design, he endeavoured to procure shipping from every part of the coast, extending from Rhodes to Alexandria; but found that most of the maritime States of Asia were already drained by his enemy, or were unwilling to declare themselves for either party. The port of Sidon was the first that furnished him any supply of vessels; but the officer who commanded them having ventured to appear before Laodiceæ, was unable to cope with the navy which Dolabella had collected from his late defeat; and, though he defended himself with great obstinacy, and with great slaughter of the enemy, after many ships were sunk on both sides, suffered a capture of five galleys with all their crews. Notwithstanding this check, Cassius was soon after joined by squadrons from Tyre, Aradus, and even from Cyprus. The governor of this island, contrary to the orders of Cleopatra, his sovereign, who had assembled her fleet to support Dolabella, ventured to change their destination, and to take part with Cassius*.

With this accession of force, Cassius being again in condition to block up the harbour of Laodiceæ, presented himself for this purpose, and two engagements followed; in the first of which the advantage was doubtful; in the second, the victory declared for Cassius, and rendered him master of the coast. Holding his enemy therefore blocked up by sea, he continued to press upon the town from the land, and, by the fifth of June, had reduced the besieged to great distress; but while he seemed to rely entirely on the effects of this

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

circumstance⁷, he carried on a correspondence with the garrison, and, on a day concerted with the officer on duty, was admitted into the place.

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Dolabella, finding that the town was delivered up, chose to fall by the sword of one of his own men, of whom he requested the favour to save him, by this last act of duty, from falling into the hands of his enemies. The troops who had served under him acknowledged the authority of his rival, and took the oath of fidelity usual in ranging themselves under a new general. Cassius seized what money he found in the public treasury, or in the temples at Laodicea, laid the citizens under a heavy contribution, and put some of those who had been most forward in serving his enemy to death⁸.

Such was known, some time before the battle of Mutina, to be the event of affairs in Asia; and the fortunes of Marcus Brutus and Cassius, they being supposed to have twenty legions under their command, with all the resources of the Eastern Empire, were still in a thriving condition, when Octavius, soon after his nomination to the office of Consul, under pretence of urging the war against Antony and Lepidus, had taken his departure from Rome, leaving his colleague Pedius in the administration of the city. To him he had given instructions to obtain, as of his own accord, the revocation of the acts by which Antony and Lepidus had been declared public enemies. He incited the army, at the same time, to demand a reconciliation of parties, and administered an oath to them, in which they swore not to draw their swords against any of the troops who had ever served under Cæsar. As Pedius made no mention of his colleague in making his motion in favour of Antony and Lepidus, the Senate, not knowing how far it might be agreeable to Octavius,

⁷ Cic. ad. Famil. lib. xii. ep. 13.

⁸ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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referred the whole matter to himself; and, upon his having signified his approbation, proceeded to revoke their former decree of attainder.² By these means Octavius, without appearing himself as the author of this change, transferred the imputation of treason from Antony and Lepidus to Brutus and Cassius, with their adherents in the late conspiracy against the life of Cæsar.

As soon as the state of parties was thus transformed, Octavius congratulated the Senate on the wisdom of their measures, and from thenceforward treated with Antony and Lepidus as friends, corresponded with them on the subject of the commonwealth, and invited them, without loss of time, to return into Italy.

Under pretence of this revolution in the government, Plancus withdrew his forces from the army of Decimus Brutus, and espoused the cause, which the republic itself, under the authority of the Consuls, appeared to avow. Pollio likewise followed this example.

In consequence of these separations, Decimus Brutus was left singly to withstand the force of so many enemies who were united, and now supported against him with the authority of the State itself. He still had ten legions, of which the four with which he had defended the city of Mutina during the preceding winter, were not yet recovered from the sufferings of that service. With the other six, being raw and undisciplined troops, he did not think himself in condition to continue the war against so many enemies; and he determined therefore to withdraw by Illyricum into Macedonia, and to join himself with the forces which were raised for the republic in that province. But in the execution of this design he found, that in civil wars armies are not easily retained on the losing side, and had occasion to observe, that they are never hearty in behalf of civil institutions against a professed intention to establish military govern-

² Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 44.

ment. On pretence of the hardships of the proposed march, he was deserted first by the new levies, and afterwards by the veterans, with all the irregulars who, except a few Gaulish horse, went over with their colours to the enemy. Of those who remained, he, under the deepest impressions of despair, allowed as many as chose it to depart; and with only three hundred horsemen who adhered to him, set out for the Rhine, intending to make his intended retreat through Germany. But, in proportion as difficulties multiplied on his way, the little troop which attended him gradually diminished; and being reduced to ten, he imagined that, with so few in his company, he might even pass through Italy undiscovered. He accordingly disguised himself, and returned to Aquileia; but being there seized, though unknown, as a suspicious person, and being conducted to an officer of the district who knew him, he was by the orders of Antony put to death¹⁰.

Thus, while all the military powers of the East were assembled under Marcus Brutus and Cassius, with a professed design to restore the republic, those of the West were equally united for a contrary purpose. Antony and Lepidus having passed the Alps, descended the Po, and advanced towards Mutina. Octavius being already in that neighbourhood with his army, they met, with five legions of each side, on the opposite banks of the Lavinus, not far from the scene of their late hostile operations against each other. The leaders agreed to hold a conference in a small island formed by the separation and reunion of two branches of the river. To the end that they might have equal access to this island, bridges were laid on the divisions of the Lavinus by which the island was formed. The armies drew up on the opposite banks; and as the recent animosities of Antony and Octavius still left some remains of distrust between them, Lepidus first

¹⁰ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

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entered alone into the place that was intended for their conference; and having seen that no snares were laid by either party, he made the signal agreed on, and was joined by the other two without any attendants.

Octavius now met with Antony in a character more respectable than that in which he had formerly appeared to him, and, with the dignity of the Roman Consul in office, had the place of honour assigned to him. They continued their conference during this and the two following days²¹; and at the expiration of this time made known to their armies, that they had agreed on the following articles: That Octavius, in order to divest himself of every legal advantage over his associates, should resign the Consulate; that the three military leaders, then upon an equal footing, should hold or share among them, during five years, the supreme-administration of affairs in the empire; that they should name all the officers of state, magistrates, and governors of provinces; that Octavius should have the exclusive command in Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily, Lepidus in Spain, and Antony in Gaul; that Lepidus should be substituted for Decimus Brutus in the succession to the Consulate for the following year, and should have the administration at Rome, while Octavius and Antony pursued the war against Brutus and Cassius in the East; that the army, at the end of the war, should have settlements assigned to them in the richest districts and best situations of Italy. Among the last were specified Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Vibona.

To ratify this agreement, the daughter of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, by Clodius her former husband, was betrothed to Octavius. He was said to have already made a different choice, and consequently to have had no intention to fulfil this part of the treaty²²; but the

²¹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. 4.²² Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 54, 55, 56.

passions,

passions, as well as the professions, of this young man, were already sufficiently subservient to his interest".

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While the army was amused by the publication of these several articles, the circumstances which chiefly distinguished this famous coalition, was the secret resolution, then taken, to extinguish at once all future opposition to the Cæsarian party, by massacring all their private and public enemies. They drew up a list, of which the numbers are variously reported, comprehending all those who had given them private or public offence, and in which they mutually sacrificed their respective friends to each other's resentment. Antony sacrificed his uncle Lucius Cæsar to the resentment of Octavius; who, in his turn, sacrificed to that of Antony, Cicero, with Thoranius, his own guardian, and his father's colleague in the office of Consul¹³. Lepidus gave up his own brother L. Paulus; and all of them agreed to join with these private enemies every person supposed to be attached to the republican government, amounting in all to three hundred Senators and two thousand of the Equestrian order, besides many persons of inferior note, whose names they deferred entering in the list until their arrival at Rome. They meant, as soon as they should be in possession of the capital, to publish the whole list for the direction of those who were to be employed in the execution of the massacre. But as there were a few whose escape they were particularly anxious to prevent, they agreed that the murders should begin, without any warning, by the death of twelve or seventeen of their most considerable enemies, and among these by the death of Marcus Tullius Cicero¹⁴. They ratified the whole by mutual oaths; and having published all the articles, except that which related to the massacre; the plan of reconciliation between the leaders was received by the armies with shouts of applause, and was supposed to be the

¹³ Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 54, 55, 56.

¹⁴ Sueton. in Octav. c. 27.

¹⁵ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

beginning

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beginning of a period in which military men were to rest from their labours, and to enjoy undisturbed the most ample reward of their services.

This celebrated cabal, known by the name of the Second Triumvirate, having thus planned the division or joint administration of an empire which each of them hoped in time to engross for himself, they proceeded to Rome with an aspect which, to those who composed the civil establishment of the commonwealth, was more terrible than that of any faction which had been hitherto formed for its destruction.

In former times, individuals rose to the head of parties or factions, and brought armies to their standard by the natural ascendant of superior abilities; and either disdained the advantages of usurped dominion, or knew how to employ their powers in exertions not unworthy of human reason. But in this instance, persons obscure, or only known by their profligacy, were followed by armies who conceived the design of enslaving their country. The spirit of adventure pervaded the meanest rank of the legions, and every soldier grasped at the fruits that were to be reaped in subduing the commonwealth. If no person had offered to put himself at their head, they themselves would have raised up a leader whom they might follow in seizing the spoils of their fellow citizens.

Lepidus, noted for his want of capacity, being in the rank of Prætor when Cæsar took possession of Rome, and being the only Roman officer of State who was willing to prostitute the dignity of his station, by abetting the violence which was now done to the constitution, was entrusted with power, and the command of an army, merely because he brought the name and authority of a magistrate to the side of the usurpation. The use of his name had been likewise convenient to Antony in the late junction or coalition of their armies; and was now necessary or convenient to both the other parties

parties in this famous association, as he held a kind of balance between them, and was to witness transactions in which neither was willing to trust the other.

Antony, possessed of parts which were known chiefly by the profligate use which he made of them, seeking to repair by rapine a patrimony which he had wasted in debauch; and sometimes strenuous when pressed by necessity, yet ever relapsing in every moment of ease or relaxation into the vilest debauchery or dissipation.

Octavius, yet a boy, only known by acts of perfidy and cunning above his years; equally indifferent to friendship or enmity, apparently defective in personal courage, but followed by the remains of Cæsar's army, as having a common cause with themselves in securing the advantages which they severally claimed by virtue of his authority. He was now about the twentieth year of his age, had been already two years at the head of a faction, veering in his professions and in his conduct with every turn of fortune; at one time reconciled with the authors of Cæsar's death, and courting the Senate, by affecting the zeal of a citizen for the preservation of the commonwealth: at another time, courting the remnant of his late uncle's army, by affecting concern for their interests, and a solicitude for the security of the grants they had obtained from Cæsar: at variance with Antony on the score of personal insults and incompatible pretensions, even charged with designs on his life; but reconciled to him, in appearance, from considerations of interest or present conveniency. He had already, in the transactions of so short a life, given indications of all the vilest qualities incident to human nature, perfidy, cowardice, and cruelty; but with an ability or cunning which, if suffered to continue its operations, was likely to prevail in the contest for superiority with his present rivals in the empire.

Such was the received description of persons who had now parcelled among themselves the government of the world, and whose
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vices were exaggerated by the fears of those who were likely to suffer by the effects of their power. Under the dominion of such a junta, if any one were left to regret the loss of public liberty, or to feel the state of degradation into which citizens were fallen; if any one could look forward from the terrors of a present tyranny to the prospect of future evils; to them surely a scene of expectation was opening, the most gloomy that ever had presented itself to mankind; persons, apparently incapable of any noble or generous purpose, coveting power as a licence to crimes, supported by bands of unprincipled villains, were now ready to seize and to distribute, in lots among themselves, all the dignities of the state, and all the patrimony of its members.

In human affairs however, the prospect, whether good or bad in extreme, is seldom verified by the end; and human nature, when seemingly driving to the wildest excess, after a series of events and struggles, settles at last in some sort of mediocrity, beyond which it never is pushed but by occasional starts and sallies. The first entry of this Triumvirate on the scene of their government, indeed, was such as could scarcely be supported in the sequel of any tyranny or usurpation whatever.

The Triumvirs being on their way to Rome, their orders for the immediate execution of seventeen of the principal Senators had been received before their arrival, and several were accordingly surprised and murdered in their houses, or in the streets. The first alarm appearing the more terrible, as the occasion of these murders was unknown, struck all orders of men with a general amazement and terror. The streets were presently deserted, and hushed in silence, except where armed parties skulked in search of their prey, or by the cries which they raised, gave mutual intimation of the discoveries they made. Persons who found themselves pursued, attempted to set the city on fire, in order to facilitate their own escape. Pedius,

the Consul, continued all night in the streets, endeavouring to prevent the calamity of a general fire. In order to quiet the minds of those who were not aimed at in this execution, he published the names of the seventeen, with assurances that the executions were not to proceed any farther¹⁴. It has been supposed, that the design was no farther communicated to this magistrate, and that he would have opposed the extremes to which it was carried; but, on the following night, he died of the fatigue he had incurred on this occasion, and the public assurances he had given were attended with no effect.

The Triumvirs marched separately towards the city, and made their entry on three several days. As they arrived in succession, they occupied every quarter with guards and attendants, and filled every public place with armed men, and with military standards and ensigns. In order to ratify the powers they had devised for themselves, they put the articles of their agreement into the hands of the Tribune Publius Titius, with instructions, that they should be proposed and enacted in the public assembly of the Roman People; and put in the form of a legal commission, or warrant, for the government they had usurped. By the act which passed on this occasion, the supreme power or sovereignty of the republic, during five years, without any reserve or limitation, was conferred on Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus; and a solemn thanksgiving being ordered for the events already passed, which led to this termination, the citizens in general, under the deepest impressions of terror and sorrow, were obliged to assume appearances of satisfaction and joy.

As the first act of this government, two lists or proscriptions were delivered to the proper officers of the army, and posted in different parts of the city; one a list of Senators, the other a list of persons of inferior rank, on whom the troops were directed to perform im-

¹⁴ Appian, de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

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mediate execution. In consequence of these orders, all the streets, temples, and private houses, instantly became scenes of blood". At the same time, there appeared on the part of the Triumvirs a manifesto, in which, having stated the ingratitude of many whom Cæsar had spared, of many whom he had promoted to high office, and whom he had even destined to inherit his fortunes, and who, nevertheless, conspired against his life, they alleged the necessity they were under of preventing the designs of their enemies, and of extirpating a dangerous faction, whom no benefits could bind, and whom no considerations, sacred or profane, could restrain. "Under the influence of this faction," they said, "the perpetrators of a horrid murder, instead of being called to an account, are intrusted with the command of provinces, and furnished with resources of men and money to support them against the efforts of public justice, and against the indignation of the Roman People. Some of these murderers," they continued, "we have already chastised; others, being at the head of powerful armies, threaten to frustrate the effects of our just resentment. Having such a conflict to maintain in the provinces, it would be absurd to leave an enemy in possession of the city, and ready to take advantage of any unfavourable accident that may befall us in defence of the commonwealth. For this reason, we have determined to cut off every person who is likely to abet their designs at Rome, and to make this desperate faction feel the effects of that war which they were so ready to declare against us and our friends.

"We mean no harm to the innocent, and shall molest no citizen, in order to seize his property. We shall not insist on destroying even all those whom we know to be our enemies; but the most guilty, it is the interest of the Roman People, as well as ours, to have

" Dio. Cass. lib. 46. Appian. lib. iv.

" removed,

" removed, that the republic may no longer be torn and agitated by the quarrels of parties who cannot be reconciled.

" Some atonement is likewise due to the army insulted by the late decrees, in which they were declared enemies to the commonwealth.

" We might," they continued, " have surpris'd and taken all our enemies without any warning, or explanation of our conduct; but we chose to make an open declaration of our purpose, that the innocent may not, by mistake, be involved with the guilty, nor even be unnecessarily alarmed." They concluded this fatal proclamation, with a prohibition to conceal, rescue, or protect any person whose name was proscribed; and they declared, that whoever acted in opposition to this order, should be considered as one of the number, and involved in the same ruin. They declared, that whoever produced the head of a person proscribed, if a free man, he should receive twenty-five thousand Attic drachms or denarii, and if a slave, should have his liberty, with ten thousand of the same money; and that every slave killing his master, in execution of this proscription should have his freedom, and be put on the rolls of the People in the place of the person he had slain.

At the time that this proclamation and the preceding lists were published, armed parties had already seized on the gates of the city, and were prepared to intercept all who attempted to escape. Others began to ransack the houses, and took their way to the villas and gardens in the suburbs, where it was likely that any of the proscribed had retired. By the disposition they made, the execution began in many places at once, and those who knew or suspected their own destination, like the inhabitants of a city taken by storm, were on every side surrounded by enemies, from whom they were to receive no quarter. To many, it is observed by historians, that their own nearest relations were objects of terror, no less than the mercenary

hands that were armed against them. The husband and the father did not think himself secure in his concealment, when he supposed it to be known to his wife or to his children. The slaves and freedmen of a family, were become its most terrible enemies. The debtor had an interest in circumventing his creditor, and neighbours in the country mutually dreaded each other as informers and spies. The money which the master of a family was supposed to have in his house, was considered as an additional reward to the treachery of his domestics. The first citizens of Rome were prostrate at the feet of their own slaves, imploring protection and mercy, or perished in the wells or common sewers, where they attempted to conceal themselves.

Persons having any private grudge or secret malice, took this opportunity to accomplish their ends. Even they who were inclined to protect or conceal the unhappy, were terrified with the prospect of being involved in their ruin. Many, who themselves, contrary to expectation, were not in the list of the proscribed, enjoyed their own safety, in perfect indifference to the distress of their neighbours; or, that they might distinguish themselves by their zeal for the prevailing cause, joined the executioners, assisted in the slaughter, or plundered the houses of the slain.

There were killed, in the beginning of this massacre, Salvius, one of the Tribunes of the People, together with Minucius and Annalis, both in the office of Prætors. Silicius Coronas, a person already mentioned, who being one of the Judges at the citation of Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius for the murder of Julius Cæsar, had ventured, in the presence of Octavius, to hold up into view the ballot by which he acquitted them, and who, although at that time in appearance overlooked, now perished among the proscribed.

Many tragic particulars, in these narrations, seem to be copied from former examples of what happened under Marius Cinna and Sylla, of persons

persons betrayed by their servants, their confidants, and nearest relations, and with a treachery and cruelty, which seemed to increase with the corruptions of the age; but yet not without instances of heroic fidelity and generous courage, of which human nature itself ever appears to be capable, even in the most degenerate times.

The slave of one of the proscribed, seeing soldiers come towards the place where his master lay concealed, took the disguise of his clothes, and presented himself to be killed in his stead. Another slave agreed to personate his master, and being carried in his litter, was killed, while the master himself, acting as one of the bearers of the litter, escaped. Another having been formerly branded by his master for some offence, was easily suspected of a desire to seize this opportunity of being revenged; but he chose the opposite part. While his master fled, he put himself in the way to stop his pursuers, produced a head, which he had severed from a dead body in the streets, and passing it for that of his master, procured him the means of escape.

The son of Hosidius Geta, saved his father by giving out that he was already killed, and by actually performing a funeral in his name. The son of Quintus Cicero, though, in the former part of his life, often on bad terms with his father and with his uncle, and often undutiful to both, ended his days in an act of magnanimity and filial affection; persevering in the concealment of his father, notwithstanding that the torture was applied to force a discovery, until the father, who was within hearing of what was in agitation, burst from his concealment, and was slain, together with his son¹⁸.

Quintus Cicero, who perished in this manner, was for some time in concealment with his brother Marcus, having been in the country, or having escaped from the city on the first alarm of these murders.

¹⁸ Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

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The brothers are mentioned as being at Tusculum together, and as setting out from thence for Astura, another of Cicero's villas on the coast, intending to embark for Greece; but as Quintus was intirely unprovided for the voyage, and his brother unable to supply him, they parted on the road in agonies of grief. In a few days after this parting, Quintus having put himself under the protection of his own son, received, though in vain, that striking proof of his filial affection and fidelity, which has just been mentioned.

Marcus Cicero having got safe to Astura, embarked, and with a fair wind arrived at Circeii. When the vessel was again about to set sail, his mind wavered, he flattered himself that matters might yet take a more favourable turn; he landed, and travelled about twelve miles on his way to Rome¹⁷: but his resolution again failed him, and he once more returned towards the sea. Being arrived on the coast, he still hesitated, remained on shore, and passed the night in agonies of sorrow, which were interrupted only by momentary starts of indignation and rage. Under these emotions, he sometimes solaced himself with a prospect of returning to Rome in disguise, of killing himself in the presence of Octavius, and of staining the person of that young traitor with the blood of a man, whom he had so ungratefully and so vilely betrayed. Even this appeared to his frantic imagination some degree of revenge; but the fear of being discovered before he could execute his purpose, the prospect of the tortures and indignities he was likely to suffer, deterred him from this design; and, being unable to take any resolution whatever, he committed himself to his attendants, was carried on board of a vessel, and steered for Capua¹⁸. Near to this place, having another villa on the shore, he was again landed, and being fatigued with the motion of the sea, went to rest; but his servants, according to the supersti-

¹⁷ Plut. in Cicerona.¹⁸ Ibid.

tion of the times, being disturbed with prodigies and unfavourable presages, or rather being sensible of their master's danger, after a little repose awaked him from his sleep, forced him into his litter, and hastened again to embark. Soon after they were gone, Popilius Lanas, a Tribune of the legions, and Herennius, a Centurion, with a party who had been for some days in search of this prey, arrived at the villa. Popilius had received particular obligations from Cicero, having been defended by him when tried upon a criminal accusation; but these were times, in which bad men could make a merit of ingratitude to their former benefactors, when it served to ingratiate them with those in power. This officer, with his party, finding the gates of the court and the passages of the villa shut, burst them open; but missing the person they sought for, and suspecting that he must have taken his flight again to the sea, they pursued through an avenue that led to the shore, and came in sight of Cicero's litter, before he had left the walks of his own garden.

On the appearance of a military party, Cicero perceived the end of his labours, ordered the bearers of his litter to halt; and having been hitherto, while there were any hopes of escape, distressed chiefly by the perplexity and indecision of his own mind, he became, as soon as his fate appeared to be certain, determined and calm. In this situation, he was observed to stroke his chin with his left hand, a gesture for which he was remarked in his moments of thoughtfulness, and when least disturbed. Upon the approach of the party, he put forth his head from the litter, and fixed his eyes upon the Tribune with great composure. The countenance of a man so well known to every Roman, now worn out with fatigue and dejection, and disfigured by neglect of the usual attention to his person, made a moving spectacle even to those who came to assist in his murder. They turned away, while the assassin performed his office, and severed the head from his body.

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Thus perished Marcus Tullius Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Although his character may be known from the part which he bore in several transactions, of which the accounts are scattered in different parts of this history, yet it is difficult to close the scene of his life, without some recollection of the circumstances which were peculiar to so distinguished a personage. He appears to have been the last of the Romans, who rose to the highest offices of state by the force of his personal character, and by the fair arts of a republican candidate for public honours. None of his ancestors having enjoyed any considerable preferments, he was upon this account considered as a new man, and with reluctance admitted by the nobility to a participation of honours. It was however impossible to prevent his advancement, so long as preferments were distributed according to the civil and political forms of the republic, which gave so large a scope to the industry, abilities, and genius of such men. Under those forms, all the virtues of a citizen were allowed to have some effect, and all the variety of useful qualifications were supposed to be united in forming a title to the confidence of the public; the qualifications of a warrior were united with those of a statesman, and even the talents of a lawyer and barrister, with those of a Senator and Counsellor of State. The law required¹⁹, that the same person should be a warrior and statesman, and it was at least expedient or customary, that he should be also a barrister, in order to secure the public favour, and to support his consideration with the People.

Cicero was by no means the first person at Rome, who with peculiar attention cultivated the talents of a pleader, and applied himself with ardour to literary studies. He is nevertheless universally acknowledged, by his proficiency in these studies, to have greatly excelled all those who went before him, so much, as to have attained

¹⁹ Ten or fifteen years military service was required, as a qualification for the higher offices of state. Vid. Polyb. ubi supra.

the highest preferments in the commonwealth, without having quitted the gown, and to have made his first campaign in the capacity of Roman Proconsul, and above ten years after he had already exercised the supreme executive power in the state.

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To the novelty of this circumstance, as well as to the novelty of his family-name in the list of officers of state, was owing some part of that obloquy which his enemies employed against him; and it may be admitted, that for a Roman he was too much a mere man of the robe, and that he possibly may have been less a statesman and a warrior, for having been so much a man of letters, and so accomplished a pleader.

Cicero, whether we suppose him to have been governed by original vanity, or by a habit of considering the world as a theatre for the display of his talents, and the acquisition of fame, more than as a scene of real affairs, in which objects of serious consequence to mankind were to be treated, was certainly too fond of applause, courted it as a principal object even in the fairest transactions of his life, and was too much dependant on the opinion of other men to possess himself sufficiently amidst the difficulties which occur in the very arduous situation which fell to his lot. Though disposed, in the midst of a very corrupt age, to merit commendation by honest means, and by the support of good government, he could not endure reproach or censure, even from those whose disapprobation was a presumption of innocence and of merit; and he felt the unpopularity of his actions, even where he thought his conduct the most meritorious, with a degree of mortification which greatly distracted his mind, and shook his resolution. Being, towards the end of his life, by the almost total extirpation of the more respectable citizens and members of the Senate who had laboured with him for the preservation of the commonwealth, left in a situation which required the abilities of a great warrior, as well as those of the ablest statesman, and in which,

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even such abilities could not have stemmed the torrent which burst forth to overwhelm the republic, it is not surprising that he failed in the attempt.

Antony, at the same time that he gave orders for the death of Cicero, gave directions that not only his head, but his right hand likewise, with which he had written so many severe invectives against himself, should be cut off²⁰, and brought to him as an evidence of the execution.

In the course of these murders, the heads of the slain were usually presented to the Triumvirs, and by their orders set up in conspicuous places, while the bodies were cast into the river, or suffered to be exposed in the streets. Antony having more resentments to gratify than either of his colleagues, had the heads of his enemies brought to him in great numbers, even as he lay on his couch at his meals. That of Cicero was received by him with the joy of victory; he gazed upon it with singular pleasure, and ordered it, together with the hand, to be exposed on the rostrum from which this respectable citizen had so often declaimed, and where these mangled parts of his body were now exposed to the view of a multitude, that used to crowd to his audience²¹. Fulvia too had her enemies on this occasion, and received the bloody tokens of their execution with a savage avidity and pleasure, which, to those who judge of propriety from modern customs, or who form their opinions of the sex from the manners of modern times, will scarcely appear to be credible. When the head of Cicero, in particular, was brought to her toilet, with a peculiar and spiteful allusion to the eloquence, by which she herself, as well as her present and former husbands, had been galled, she is said to have forced open the jaw, and to have pricked and tore the tongue with the point of a bodkin, which she took from her hair.

²⁰ Plut. in Cicerone.

²¹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

In this horrid scene of revenge and cruelty, rapacity too had its share, many persons were proscribed, merely that their estates might be brought into the coffers of the Triumvirs; and many persons were threatened, to induce them to ransom²² their lives with money. The list received frequent additions, and underwent many alterations, some names being scratched out, and others inserted, a circumstance, by which persons of any considerable property, as well as those who were obnoxious to any of the persons in power, were kept in the most anxious state of suspense and uncertainty. Many who were spared by the public usurpers of government, fell a sacrifice to the resentment of their private enemies, or to the avarice of those who wished to possess themselves of their property²³; and the names of many persons who had been thus slain, without any public authority, were afterwards inserted in the list of the proscribed, in order to justify the murder.

The troops were sensible of their own importance on this occasion, and set no bounds to their pretensions. They solicited grants of the houses of persons reputed to be of the opposite party; or, being the only buyers at the frequent sales which were made of forfeited estates, obtained the possession of them by a kind of fictitious purchase. Not satisfied with the price which was paid them for the blood of the proscribed, or with the extravagant gratuities which they frequently received, they were, under various pretences, hastening to seize every subject that tempted their avarice. They intruded themselves into every family, and laid claim to every inheritance; they plundered at discretion the houses of the rich, or murdered indiscriminately those who offended them, or who stood in their way to the possession of wealth; they encouraged, by their example, fugitive slaves, and disorderly persons of every description,

²² Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii.

²³ Ibid. c. 12. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

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who, forming themselves into bands in the disguise of soldiers, engaged in the same practices, and perpetrated the same crimes.

The Triumvirs, whose principal object it was to secure the government, though noways interested in these extreme disorders, which far exceeded what they originally projected, not daring to restrain the military violence, lest it should recoil on themselves, left for some time the lives, as well as the properties of the People, entirely at the mercy of the troops; and citizens, who were reputed to have any effects in reserve, were fain to adopt some soldier as a son, in order to obtain his protection.

Such are the particulars which are recorded of this famous transaction, which, however monstrous in those who gave rise to it, far exceeded the bounds of their original design. When the evil had in some measure spent its force, its authors were willing to divert the attention of the public, or to efface the melancholy impressions which remained. For this purpose, Lepidus and Plancus being about to enter on the office of Consul for the following year, on some slight pretence of a victory gained by the army in Gaul, entered the city in procession; but suspecting that the People were more inclinable to dejection than triumph, they directed the public, by a proclamation, to give on that day the demonstrations of joy which generally made part in the reception that was given to victorious generals²⁴.

The soldiers indeed were not wanting, as usual, in the petulant sarcasms and familiar abuse, in which they availed themselves of their present consequence: they sung, in their procession, scurrilous ballads, alluding to examples of parricide as well as murder committed by their chiefs in the late proscription; by Lepidus and Plancus, that of their own brothers; by Antony and Octavius, that

²⁴ Appian. ut supra.

of their nearest relations and friends²³. But at the disposal of such masters as these, every citizen who was likely to frown on their crimes, every person whose countenance gave signs of dejection or sorrow, every possessor of land, and every father of a family, had reason to tremble for their persons, their possessions, and the safety of their children.

Such was the aspect of affairs in Italy; but there were still some rays of hope, which shone from a distance. Not only Brutus and Cassius, in their provinces of Macedonia and Syria; but Cornificius in Africa, and Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, still held up the standard of the republic, and offered places of refuge to its friends. Sextus Pompeius stationed ships on the coast to receive them, and published rewards for the rescue or protection of his father's party, and of those unfortunate remains of the commonwealth²⁴. Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, though abandoned to destruction, was suffered to escape by the soldiers of the army, from a respect to himself or to their general. Lucius Cæsar was protected by his sister, the mother of Antony. Messala escaped to Brutus. Many others, whose names only are known, took refuge with one or other of the leaders, who were in condition to contend for the republic, or for the sovereignty of the empire.

Lepidus and Plancus being entered on the office of Consul, had in charge from the Triumvirs, as the first object of their magistracy, the raising of money to supply the further exigencies of the war. Great sums had been expected to arise from the sale of the estates of the proscribed; but the purchase of such estates was justly reckoned invidious among a certain class of the People, who declined being partakers in the spoils of innocent and respectable citizens; and it was

U. C. 715.
L. M. Plan-
cus, M. Æ.
Lepidus.

²³ De Germanis non de Gallis triumphant Consules.

²⁴ Appian. ut supra. Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii. c. 12.

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dangerous for an ordinary citizen to appear to be rich, or in condition to buy: infomuch, that they who murdered the owner, were almost the only buyers of estates that were exposed to public sale; and the money which arose from these sales, fell greatly short of the expectations which had been entertained from them.

It was computed, that two hundred millions, Roman money, were yet wanting to supply the expence of the war²⁷. In order to make up this deficiency, the male sex chiefly having hitherto suffered by the public exactions, a contribution was levied from such women related to the opposite party as were supposed to be rich. At the same time persons of every description, whose estates exceeded one hundred thousand²⁸ Roman money, were commanded to give an account of their effects, that they might pay a tax equal to a fiftieth of their stock, and one year's income of their ordinary revenue²⁹.

To enforce these exactions, hitherto unusual in Italy, much violence was necessary. The rents of houses in the city, and the produce of lands in the country were sequestered, leaving only one half for the subsistence of the owners. In this manner, great sums of money were levied from the peaceable part of the commonwealth; but as the Triumvirs had incurred a very heavy debt in their military operations, and in bounties to secure the troops in their interest, and had in prospect an arduous and expensive war against Brutus and Cassius, armed with the forces, and supported by the treasures of the East, the first sums which came in were far from being sufficient for their purpose. Additional exactions were made, under the denomination of fines or forfeitures, from those who were alleged to have given in a false state of their effects.

In imitation of the late sanguinary proscriptions, the Consuls published lists of all who had incurred this penalty, and ordered their ef-

²⁷ Appian. ut supra.²⁸ About eight thousand pounds.²⁹ Appian. ut supra.

fects accordingly to be seized. The inhabitants of the towns were obliged to find subsistence for the troops that were quartered on them, and the country was pillaged, under pretence of a search that was made for the effects of rebels. The pay of the soldiers accumulating in the hands of their leaders, was considered, together with the advantages which they expected at the end of the war, as a pledge of their attachment and perseverance in the cause ³⁰.

Although few men were now left in Italy, who could forget their own fears so far as to think of the commonwealth, or who could be suspected of any design to restore the ancient government, yet this was made the ordinary ground of suspicion against those, whom the Triumvirs wished to oppress; and the desire to remove it, led all orders of men to affect a veneration for the memory of Cæsar, and to vie in their zeal to avenge his death. The anniversary of this event was made a day of mourning. A shrine was erected on the place of his funeral, and was declared to be a public sanctuary, and place of refuge even to criminals. The divine or monarchical honours which were thus paid to the memory of the dead, preserved in the minds of the People that disposition to endure a master which was thought favourable to the living usurpers, and which the division of power between them might have otherwise diminished ³¹.

Agreeably to the model of Julius Cæsar's arrangements, preparatory to his intended expedition into Asia, the Triumvirs, before the departure of Octavius and Antony on the service to which they were destined, fixed the succession to all the offices of state for some years. They had under their command an army of forty legions, which they now separated into two divisions ³². The one, under the direction of Antony, was assembled on the eastern coast to be in readiness to cover Italy on that side, or to pass into Macedonia, and to carry the

³⁰ Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii. c. 14, 15.

³¹ Appian. ut supra.

³² Ibid. lib. xlv. c. 18 & 19.

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war against Brutus and Cassius into that province. The other was destined to remain in Italy, in order to secure the head of the empire, and oppose any attempts of the opposite party by sea from Sicily or Africa, which were still in their possession.

Sextus Pompeius, the last of the family of the great Pompey, in consequence of the resolutions passed in his favour soon after Cæsar's death, had set out from Spain as admiral of the Roman navy, and fixing his station in Sicily, had a numerous fleet, and mustered considerable land forces³³. With these, in the war which immediately followed, he wished to co-operate with the combined armies of the two Consuls, Hirtius and Pansa; but was prevented by a doubt which arose, whether the veterans of Cæsar, who composed great part of that army, would act in concert with a son of Pompey³⁴? Upon the coalition of Octavius with Lepidus and Antony, he again became an exile, but continued in possession of Sicily, a province, which, by the present division of the empire, was comprehended in the lot Octavius.

Cornificius, by commission from the Roman Senate, still held the province of Africa, and refused to surrender it to Sextus, an officer who had been sent by Octavius, in consequence of the same distribution, to take possession of it in his name. The dispute being likely to end in a war, the opposite parties applied to the neighbouring princes for aid; but the lieutenant of Octavius having his commission from the supreme authority then established at Rome, or being known to represent the triumphant party, was acknowledged by most of the African powers in alliance with the Romans. Being joined by their forces, he came to an action with his antagonist near Utica, and obtained a victory, in which Cornificius was killed. Lælius and Roscius, two officers of rank in the vanquished army, perished

³³ Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 17.³⁴ Cicer. Philip. xiii.

by their own hands". As many as could find shipping, escaped to Pompey in the island of Sicily. CHAP.
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Soon after this event, Octavius, being desirous to dislodge the remains of the republican party from an island of so much consequence, sent Salvidienus with a fleet towards the straits of Messina, while he himself marched by land to Rhegium. A sea fight soon after ensued, from which the fleets retired with equal loss. Salvidienus put into the harbour of Balanus to refit; and Octavius, being arrived at Rhegium, was meditating a descent upon Sicily, when he received pressing instances from Antony to join him at Brundisium, that they might endeavour to repel the storm which was gathering from the East, and which seemed to threaten their establishments in Italy with the greatest hazard³⁵.

Marcus Brutus, after fortune seemed to have declared for the republican party at Mutina, thinking himself at liberty to attend to the affairs of the East, and to support Cassius in his struggle for the possession of Syria, had passed with his army into Asia, in order to cut off all supplies from Dolabella, and to avail himself of the resources, for the pay and subsistence of the army, which were still to be found in that opulent province. While he was employed in the execution of this design, the important events already mentioned took place in that quarter. Cassius had prevailed in Syria, got entire possession of the province, was acknowledged as general by all the armies which had been assembled by either party beyond the boundaries of Cilicia; and he was meditating an expedition into Egypt, to punish Cleopatra for the part she had taken against him in his contest with Dolabella, and to raise a contribution in her country for the farther support of the war.

³⁵ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv. p. 622, &c. Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 21.

³⁶ Appian. ut supra.

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The victory obtained at Mutina, though by an army which till then was reputed on the side of the commonwealth, made a great change to its prejudice, giving an opportunity to its enemies to declare themselves, and to unite their forces: infomuch, that by the coalition of Octavius and Lepidus with Antony, all the remaining armies of the West were joined, not only to subdue the capital, but to carry the war into Macedonia and Asia, the last retreat of the republican interest.

Brutus being informed of these circumstances, and of the late proscriptions, sent a message to Cassius, with pressing instances to divert him from his project against Egypt, and to turn his forces to the rescue of the commonwealth from the hands of tyrants, and to avenge the innocent blood which had been so copiously shed in Italy.

Upon these representations, Cassius, having left a legion to secure the possession of Syria, marched to the westward, and in his way raised large contributions for the support of the war. Among the other measures which he took for this purpose, he surprized Ariobarzanes in his palace, and obliged him to deliver up the money then in his treasury. He pillaged the city of Tarsus; and, upon account of the support which the inhabitants of that place had given to Dolabella, subjected them for the future to a heavy tribute ³⁷.

About the middle of winter, Brutus and Cassius, with their armies, joined at Smyrna. These restorers of the republic had parted some months before at Pireus, one bound for Syria, the other for Macedonia; but more like exiles than Roman officers of state, without any men, shipping, or money, and under great uncertainty of their success, in obtaining possession of the provinces on which they

³⁷ Appian. ut supra.

had their several pretensions. Their affairs now bore a different aspect; they had a numerous fleet, and a mighty land force, large sums of money already amassed, with the resources of a territory the most wealthy of any part in the Roman empire²⁸. Brutus proposed that they should, without delay, transport their forces into Europe, and prevent the Triumvirs from getting any footing in Macedonia or Greece; but Cassius contended, that they had yet enemies or allies of doubtful fidelity in Asia, and that it would be imprudent to leave any such behind them, or to forego the treasure which they might yet command in that country, and which would enable them to reward and to encourage their armies.

Brutus determined by these considerations, accordingly marched into Lycia, while Cassius proceeded to execute a project he had formed for the reduction of Rhodes. His fleet being on their way to turn the Capes of Asia, in order to support him in this design, the Rhodians, trusting to their superior skill and reputation as mariners, assembled all the ships they could muster, and, near to the harbour of Lindus, ventured to engage those of Cassius; but being inferior in number and weight of ships, they were defeated with considerable loss. Cassius beheld the engagement from a high land on the continent, and as soon as the ships could be again refitted²⁹, ordered the fleet to Loryma, a fortified harbour in the continent, over against the island of Rhodes; from thence he embarked his army. He himself, with eighty galleys, escorted the transports in their passage, landed on the island, and besieged the capital both by sea and by land.

The Rhodians having trusted intirely to the defence of their shipping, were unprovided of all things necessary to withstand a siege. Cassius by surprise, or by the treachery of a party within the

²⁸ Plut. in Bruto.²⁹ Appian. ut supra.

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walls, soon became master of the place, laid it under a severe contribution; and having left an officer of the name of Varus to command in the island, he returned to the continent with a great accession of reputation and wealth.

Brutus at the same time had forced the passes of the mountains leading into Lycia, and advancing to Xanthus, summoned the town to surrender. This place had acquired much fame by the obstinate resistance of its inhabitants, or by the desperation they had shewn, when forced, on former occasions, by Harpalus, the general of Cyrus, and by Alexander, in his way to the conquest of Persia⁴⁰. Upon the approach of Brutus, they razed their suburbs, and removed every building which might cover the advances of an enemy. The walls were surrounded by a ditch fifty feet deep; and this being the first impediment which Brutus had to encounter, he began the attack with a continual labour to fill it up, and to effect a passage for his engines to the foot of the rampart. Having accomplished this object, he proceeded to cover his workmen with galleries, and to erect the engines usually employed in making a breach. He was opposed by the besieged in repeated sallies, in the last of which, his works were set on fire, and reduced to ashes.

In the mean time, two thousand men of the Roman army pursuing the party who had made this sally, entered the city along with them, and not being properly supported, suffered the gates to be shut, and themselves to be cut off from all relief. Being instantly surrounded by the inhabitants, numbers of them were killed, and the remainder forced into a temple, where they endeavoured to defend themselves.

This circumstance produced the most vigorous efforts on the part of the besiegers, to force the walls, that they might rescue their

⁴⁰ Appian. ut supra, lib. iv.

friends, or make a diversion in their favour. They applied scaling-ladders to the battlements, and forcing engines to the gates; and having at last made their way into the town, that they might at once terrify the inhabitants, and give notice of approaching relief to their own party, they raised a mighty shout as they entered the streets, and continued to urge their fury, in every direction, with fire and sword. The inhabitants, unable to resist this storm, retired to their houses, and there, determined to maintain their ancient fame, chose rather to perish by their own hands, than submit to the enemy. The father of every family, beginning with the slaughter of his wife and his children, proceeded to kill himself.

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While the people of Xanthus were employed in the execution of this purpose, Brutus hearing the cries of desperation and of murder, supposed that his troops had refused to give quarter, and were killing the wretched inhabitants of the place, without distinction of sex or age. In order to put the speediest stop to so horrid a scene, his first thought was to bring off the troops, by sounding a general retreat; but being informed that the people were perishing, not by the cruelty of his army, but by their own desperation, he ordered to be proclaimed a general freedom and protection to all the inhabitants; but so long as any considerable number of the citizens remained, the officers who came near them, even with an offer of quarter, were answered with threats, or with showers of darts and of arrows, obliged to keep at a distance. The temples and public buildings were, with great difficulty, saved from fire; but none of the inhabitants could be rescued, besides a few women and slaves.

Brutus, greatly afflicted with this piteous catastrophe, marched with reluctance towards Patara, where the inhabitants were supposed to be infected with the same desperate spirit; and, to prevent the necessity of such fatal extremities, sent a message to prevail on the people to surrender, and to accept of his protection. The example
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of Xanthus appeared much too atrocious to be followed, and they submitted to pay the contributions which were exacted from them.

Lentulus, at the same time, who commanded the fleet which had been employed in transporting the army of Cassius into the island of Rhodes, forced his way into the harbour of Andriaca, the port of Myra, by breaking the chain which was stretched across the entrance; and this place being reduced, the inhabitants of Lycia sent offers of submission, and of their service in the war, agreed to pay a certain tribute, and to join the fleet with their galleys. Lentulus being accordingly reinforced with a great accession of ships, set sail for Abydus, the shortest passage into Europe, where he was ordered to wait the arrival of the land forces.

At the same time, Murcus, commanding another squadron belonging to Brutus and Cassius, upon a report that Cleopatra, with a numerous fleet, was at sea, to effect a junction with Octavius and Antony, had been stationed at the Cape of Tenarus to intercept her; but being informed that the Egyptian fleet was dispersed, or had suffered much in a storm, he weighed from Tenarus, and steered for Brundisium, took possession of an island at the mouth of the harbour, and from thence intended to prevent the transportation of any troops from Italy to Macedonia or Greece. He had however arrived too late to effect the whole of this purpose. Great part of Antony's army was already transported, and he himself, with the remainder, waited for favourable winds to run or pass unnoticed in the night.

In this state of the war, Brutus and Cassius, having accomplished the services in which they had been severally engaged, again assembled their forces on the right of the Meander. It is said, that they began their conference on bad terms, the effect of a jealousy which had been industriously raised between them; but there did not appear any consequences of a misunderstanding; and their joint forces, without delay, began to move towards Europe, in order to check the advances

vances which the enemy were already making in Macedonia. Having passed the Hellespont, they marched, by the isthmus of Cardia, to the coast of the bay of Melanus; here they made a halt for some days, to muster and to review their forces. The army of Cassius consisted of nine legions, that of Brutus of eight, amounting to about eighty thousand men, formed in the manner of the Roman infantry. Brutus had four thousand Gaulish and Lusitanian horse; two thousand cavalry, made up of Thracians, Illyrians, Parthians, and Thessalians. Cassius had two thousand Gauls and Spaniards, and four thousand Parthian archers mounted on horseback. They were followed likewise by some princes of Galatia, at the head of their respective forces. The whole, by this account, amounted to near a hundred thousand men. Many of the legions had been formed under Cæsar, and could not be retained in their present service, without frequent liberalities, and without a prospect, at the end of the war, of settlements, not inferior to those which were enjoyed or expected by the troops of the opposite side. The wealth of Asia, however, having put their leaders in condition to perform what was at present expected from them; all former engagements were now fulfilled, as the best earnest that could be given of future gratuities.

At the close of this muster, Cassius and Brutus, with all the officers of Senatorian rank, who were then present, being assembled on a platform, raised as usual to some height from the ground, were surrounded by the army, who crowded to hear the speech of their leaders; and it was supposed, that what they were to deliver should have the effect of a manifesto or proclamation, respecting the cause in which they were engaged. Cassius spoke for himself, for his colleague, and the body of Senators who attended them; addressing this motely assemblage of native Romans and aliens, of citizens and soldiers of fortune, collected from different parties, as an assembly of

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the Roman People deliberating on their public rights. He mentioned the mutual confidence that was natural between officers and men engaged, as they were, in a common cause; enumerated their resources with the other advantages they possessed, and took notice of the punctual discharge of all former engagements, as the best security which could be given of a fixed intention to make a suitable provision for every soldier who should contribute to bring the war to a favourable issue. "The unjust reproaches of our enemies," he said, "we could easily disprove, if we were not, by our numbers, and by the swords which we hold in our hands, in condition to despise them. While Cæsar led the armies of the republic against the enemies of Rome, we took part in the same service with him, we obeyed him, we were happy to serve under his command. But when he declared war on the commonwealth, we became his enemies; and when he became an usurper and a tyrant, we resented, as an injury, even the favours which he presumed to bestow upon ourselves. Had he been to fall a sacrifice to private resentment, we should not have been the proper actors in the execution of the sentence against him. He was willing to have indulged us with preferments and honours; but we were not willing to accept, as the gift of a master, what we were intitled to claim as free citizens. We conceived, that, in presuming to confer the honours of the Roman republic, he encroached on the prerogatives of the Roman People, and insulted the authority of the Roman Senate.

"Cæsar cancelled the laws, and overturned the constitution of his country; he usurped all the powers of the commonwealth, set up a monarchy, and himself affected to be a King. This our ancestors, at the expulsion of Tarquin, bound themselves and their posterity, by the most solemn oaths, and by the most direful imprecations,

“precations, never to endure. The same obligation has been en-
 “tailed upon us as a debt by our fathers; and we, having faithfully
 “paid and discharged it, have performed the oath, and averted the
 “consequences of failure from ourselves, and from our posterity.

“In the station of soldiers, we might have committed ourselves
 “without reflection to the command of an officer, whose abilities
 “and whose valour we admired; but, in the character of Roman
 “citizens we have a far different part to sustain. I must suppose, that
 “I now speak to the Roman People, and to citizens of a free re-
 “public; to men who have never learned to depend upon others
 “for gratifications and favours, who are not accustomed to own a
 “superior, but who are themselves the masters, the dispensers of for-
 “tune and of honour, and the givers of all those dignities and
 “powers by which Cæsar himself was exalted, and of which he
 “assumed the intire disposal. Recollect from whom the Scipios, the
 “Pompeys, even Cæsar himself derived his honours: from your
 “ancestors, whom you now represent, and from yourselves, to
 “whom, according to the laws of the republic, we, who are now
 “your leaders in the field, address ourselves as your fellow-citizens in
 “the commonwealth, and as persons depending on your pleasure for the
 “just reward and retribution of our services. Happy in being able
 “to restore to you what Cæsar had the presumption to appropriate
 “to himself the power and the dignity of your fathers, with the
 “supreme disposal of all the offices of trust that were established for
 “your safety, and for the preservation of your freedom; happy
 “in being able to restore to the Tribunes of the Roman People the
 “power of protecting you, and of procuring to every Roman citizen
 “that justice which, under the late usurpation of Cæsar, was with-
 “held, even from the sacred persons of those magistrates themselves.
 “An usurper is the common enemy of all good citizens; but the
 “task of removing him could be the business only of a few. The

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“ Senate and the Roman People, as soon as it was proper for them
 “ to declare their judgment, pronounced their approbation of those
 “ who were concerned in the death of Cæsar, by the rewards and
 “ the honours which they bestowed upon them; and they are now
 “ become a prey to assassins and murderers; they bleed in the streets,
 “ in the temples, in the most secret retreats, and in the arms of their
 “ families; or they are dispersed, and fly wherever they hope to escape
 “ the fury of their enemies. Many are now present before you,
 “ happy in your protection, happy in witnessing the zeal which you
 “ entertain for the commonwealth, for the rights of your fellow-
 “ citizens, and for your own. These respectable citizens, we trust,
 “ will soon, by your means, be restored to a condition in which they
 “ can enjoy, together with you, all the honours of a free people,
 “ concur with you in bestowing, and partake with you in receiving,
 “ the rewards which are due to such eminent services, as you are
 “ now engaged to perform.”

Such is the substance of what we receive as the speech of Cassius on this memorable occasion, and, although we may not consider these compositions as the genuine record of what was spoken, yet as they contain the ideas and reasonings of times so much nearer than ours to the date of the transactions to which they refer, it is undoubtedly fit, and often instructive, to retain the argument on which they are founded. At the close of this speech, it is said that Cassius resumed the comparison of the forces and resources of the opposite parties, stated to his army their own equality by land, and their superiority by sea; the facility with which they were to be supplied with all necessaries; and that he concluded, with a promise to pay an additional gratuity of fifteen hundred sesterces to each man.”

After this solemnity, the army again began to advance; and while they marched in small divisions by the route of Ænos and Do-

“ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

“ About 121.

riscus, Cimber, with a squadron of galleys, having a legion and a considerable detachment of archers on board, sailed towards the coast of Macedonia, with orders to search for a proper station within the mountains of Pangeus, a ridge which, stretching from Thrace southward, terminated in the bay of Strymon, opposite to the island of Thasus⁴³. The generals, upon their arrival on the river Nessus, found that the usual passage of the mountains at Symbolus was already seized by Saxa and Norbanus, who, with the first division of Antony's forces from Italy, had traversed Macedonia, and hastened to possess themselves of this pass, in order to stop the further progress of their enemies in Europe.

Here the eastern armies were accordingly stopped, and were likely to end their career in Thrace, while their antagonists continued in possession of Macedonia, and preserved the most convenient retreat for their shipping in the bay of Strymon. They were relieved, however, from this apprehension by Ruscopolis, a Thracian prince, who attended them, and who pointed out a different route from that which the enemy had occupied. Under this guide they marched three days among the mountains, and having crossed the summit, descended in the tract of a river towards Philippi, situated on the eastern boundary of the plains of Amphipolis. This march carried them into the rear of the enemy's station, and would have enabled them to cut off their retreat, if intelligence had not been carried to Saxa and Norbanus time enough to enable them to withdraw. These officers accordingly abandoned their post, fell back forty or fifty miles⁴⁴ to Amphipolis; and having put this place in the best posture they could for defence, determined to await the arrival of Octavius and Antony.

Brutus and Cassius took post at Philippi, on the declivity of the mountains, near to the pass which Saxa and Norbanus had lately

⁴³ See Plate IV. Vol. II.

⁴⁴ 350 stadia.

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abandoned. They encamped about two miles " from the town on two separate eminences, about a mile ⁴⁵ asunder. On their right was Philippi, covered by the mountains; on the left an impassable marsh, which reached about nine miles from their camp to the sea ". In their front the country from Philippi, westward to Amphipolis, extending about forty or fifty miles, was flat and subject to floods and inundations of the rivers. The fleet was in harbour at Neapolis, near where the marsh, which covered the left of Cassius's camp, terminated in the sea; and Cimber had fixed on that place as the port to which all their convoys should repair, and by which they expected to be plentifully supplied with necessaries from Asia, and the coasts of the Egean sea. They formed, at the same time, a magazine in the island of Thasus, out of the reach of the enemy, at which to lodge in safety the surplus of their provisions and stores.

Antony and Octavius had been employed, during the winter, in transporting their forces into Macedonia; and having effected their passage, notwithstanding the vigilance of the enemy's fleet, their army advanced by rapid marches to the river Strymon, in order to preserve Amphipolis, and to carry the scene of the war as far as they could from Italy. Octavius had been taken ill, and remained behind at Dyrrachium. Antony, upon his arrival at Amphipolis, having found the town in a posture of defence, fixed upon it as a place of arms for the security of his heavy baggage and stores. From thence he advanced upon the flat country, through a march of some days, and pitched in sight of Philippi, within a mile of the enemy's stations.

It was the object of the Triumvirs to bring the war to a speedy issue, as they foresaw the difficulty of being long able, without any supply of provisions from the sea, to maintain so numerous an army

⁴⁵ Eighteen stadia.⁴⁶ Eight stadia.⁴⁷ Seventy stadia.

by the sole resources of the neighbouring country. Brutus and Cassius, on the contrary, perceived their own advantage, and were determined to protract the war. They fortified their camps with great care, and joined them to each other; and to the town of Philippi on the one side, and to the morass on the other, with such works as formed a continued chain to cover their communication, for about twelve miles from the town of Philippi, to the port of Neapolis.

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Antony's camp being on the plain, and in a low situation, was overlooked by the enemy, and subject to be overflowed by the torrents which fell from the hills. He made every possible effort to bring his antagonists to action, and by his forwardness in pressing them to a battle, raised the courage of his own troops, and assumed, as is common with those who act offensively, the appearance of superiority. While he yet continued in this posture, Octavius, though not entirely recovered from his illness, joined him from Dyrrachium. They took two separate stations opposite to those of the enemy; Octavius opposite to Brutus, and Antony to Cassius. The number of legions, on both sides, were equal; but those of Antony and Octavius were not complete. In cavalry they were unequal; that of Brutus and Cassius amounting to twenty thousand, while that of Octavius and Antony was no more than thirteen thousand.

Antony and Octavius, in order to force their antagonists to a battle, or to cut off their communication with the sea, formed a design to pierce the morass, and to seize upon the heights beyond it on the left of Cassius's camp. In the work which they carried on for this purpose, they were covered by the reeds, which grew to a great height in the marsh; and in ten days, without being observed, by means of timbers, hurdles, and earth, which they sunk as they advanced, accomplished a passage, and sent in the night a party of their army to occupy the opposite heights, to make lodgments, and to intercept the communication.

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nication of their antagonists with Neapolis, from which they received their daily supplies.

As soon as Brutus and Cassius perceived this advantage gained by the enemy, they took measures to recover it, and to open their own access again to the sea. For this purpose they, in their turn, traversed the morafs in a line which crossed the passage which the enemy had made, and pierced their highway with a deep and impassable ditch. Having, in this manner, cut off the enemy's parties that had passed the morafs from any succours or supplies from their main body, they were about to force them, when Octavius and Antony endeavoured to recover their passage; and, to divert the attention of the enemy from what they were doing in the marsh, drew forth their armies on the plain.

While Octavius was still confined by sickness, his lieutenant, or next in command, took his place in this movement, and advanced toward the intrenchment of Brutus. The light troops began to skirmish on the ascent of the hill. And, notwithstanding it was the resolution of both leaders in the republican army not to hazard a battle, except in defence of their own intrenchments, the legions of Brutus observing, from their parapet, what passed between the advanced parties in front, were so animated or incensed, as not to be restrained. They accordingly quitted their lines, attacked the wing on which Octavius was supposed to command, drove them back to their ground, and continuing the pursuit, even forced them in their camp. Octavius himself, having been carried from his bed to a litter, narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands.

On the other wing Antony likewise had advanced towards the camp of Cassius; but as he was observed, at the same time, beginning to work in the morafs, this movement of his army was considered as no more than a feint to favour the other design. Cassius, to divert him from his operation in the marsh, drew

drew forth his army likewise ; and having greatly the advantage of the ground, did not suppose that the enemy, in such circumstances, would venture upon a general action. In this however he was disappointed. Antony, seeing Cassius expose his front, discontinued his work in the morass, mounted the height in his presence, forced him to retire, even took and pillaged his camp; and thus showed, in his turn, what are the effects of an impetuous attack upon an enemy who are disposed to think themselves secure.

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These separate actions, or the preparations which were made for them, had filled up the greater part of the day. It was already dusk, and the field, for the most part, was covered with clouds of dust; so that no one could see to a distance. Those who commanded on the right in both armies, having put those who were opposed to them to flight, thought that the event was decisive in their own favour. But Brutus and Antony being informed of what had passed on the other wings of their respective armies, neither attempted to keep the advantage he had gained. Disqualified by fatigue or surprise from renewing the contest, they passed each other on the plain, and hastened back to their former stations.

Cassius, after the route of his division, with a few who adhered to him, had halted on an eminence, and sent Titinius to the right, with orders to learn the particulars of the day on that side. This officer, while yet in sight, was met by a party of horse emerging from the clouds of dust on the plain. This party had been sent by Brutus to learn the situation of his friends on the left; but Cassius, supposing them to be enemies, and believing that Titinius, whom he saw surrounded by them, was taken, he instantly, with the precipitant despair which, on other occasions, had proved so fatal to the cause of the republic, presented his breast to a slave, to whom he had allotted, in case of any urgent extremity, the office of putting an end to his life. Titinius, upon his return, imputing this fatal calamity to his own neglect in not trying sooner to undeceive his general by proper signals,

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signals, killed himself, and fell upon the body of his friend⁴⁹. Brutus soon after arrived at the same place, and seeing the dead body of Cassius, shed tears of vexation and sorrow over the effects of an action so rash and precipitant, and which deprived the republic and himself, in this extremity, of so necessary and so able a support. *This, he said, is the last of the Romans.*

The surviving leader of the republican party, in order to prevent the impression which the sight of a funeral so interesting was likely to make on the army, ordered the body of Cassius to be carried to the island of Thasus, and there privately interred. He himself spent the night in re-assembling the troops who had been dispersed, formed both armies into one body, and drew the whole into one camp. He still kept his ground at Philippi, and endeavoured to support the courage of the troops, and to replace the activity and military skill of his unfortunate colleague. In his addresses to the army, he set forth the advantages they had gained as more than sufficient to compensate their losses. He represented the distressed condition of the enemy, who, having already exhausted the province of Macedonia in their rear, were obliged to bring their provisions from Thessaly, which was at a greater distance, and not likely to supply them so long. "The sea-ports," he observed, "being every where blocked up, and their convoys intercepted by a fleet of above two hundred and sixty sail, the prospect of what they must speedily suffer will make them impatient for action. They will provoke," he said, "they will attempt to insult you; but this appearance of courage is a mere effect of despair. Only wait the result of these circumstances, and perseverance will render your victory easy." He supported these exhortations with giving the army full satisfaction in all their claims and pretensions, and with an additional gratuity of a thousand sesterces to each man⁵⁰.

⁴⁹ Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii. c. 34. Appian. lib. iv.

⁵⁰ About 81.

The leaders of the other side, at the same time, were equally employed in what was necessary to palliate the sufferings, or to raise the hopes of their own army. Though not equally in condition to make present donations, they amply supplied this defect with expectations and promises. They declared their intention of giving an additional gratuity of five thousand sesterces to each private man³¹, five times as much to the Centurion, and the double of this sum to the Tribune. "Judge ye," said Antony, in his address to the army, "who has suffered most by the mutual pillage of yesterday? You, who have left all your effects behind you in Italy, or the enemy, who came to their ground loaded with the spoils of Asia? Their own general, by killing himself, has proclaimed your victory. We declare you victorious, by bestowing upon you the rewards of valour to which you are intitled. If the enemy choose to dispute your claim to these rewards, let them meet us again in the field. They shall have an opportunity to-morrow, and for some days to come; if they shrink and remain behind their intrenchments, I shall leave you to determine who is vanquished in the trial of force which we have had."

Antony and Octavius accordingly drew forth their army for many days successively, and were greatly embarrassed with the resolution which appeared to be taken by the enemy, not to hazard a battle. They began to suffer greatly for want of provisions, and felt the approach of winter, which, in a marshy situation, threatened them with growing inconveniences. Brutus, to hasten the effects of the season, had turned the course of a river from the hills, and laid under water part of the plain on which they encamped³². At the same time a recent calamity, which befel them at sea, increased these distresses, and diminished their hopes of relief.

³¹ About 401.³² Zonaras, c. 19. p. 385.

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On the same day on which the late battle was fought at Philippi, Domitius Calvinus had sailed from Brundisium, having on board of transports two legions, of which the *Martia* was one, with two thousand men of the Prætorian bands, and a body of horse, convoyed by some galleys, or ships of force. Being met at sea by the fleet of Brutus, consisting of a hundred and thirty sail, under Murcus and Ænobarbus, a few of the headmost and best sailing ships escaped; but the remainder being surrounded had no resource but in the valour of the troops, who endeavoured to defend themselves with their swords, grappling and lashing their transports to the ships of the enemy; but in this attempt, being galled with missiles from the armed galleys, particularly with burning darts, by which some of the transports were set on fire, the others, to avoid the flames, were obliged to keep at a distance; and the greater part of them suffering extremely without being able to annoy the enemy, were sunk or destroyed. Calvinus himself, having been five days at sea, with difficulty escaped to Brundisium.

These tidings had their effect in both armies. In that of Brutus they inspired an unseasonable ardour, and a disposition to commit the cause of the party to the hazard of a battle; in that of Antony and Octavius, they impressed the necessity of a speedy decision. These leaders, to amuse their own troops, and to provoke the enemy, had seized, in the night, a post on the declivity below the ground which was lately occupied by Cassius. They were suffered to make a lodgment upon it by Brutus, who had not any apprehension that he could be annoyed from a situation that was so much lower than his own. On the following day it appeared, that their intention in seizing this post was to cover a movement, which they proposed to make to the right on the edge of the morass; which they accordingly executed, and pitched again in two separate encampments. In this new position they were observed to found the morass,

morals, and either intended a feint, or had a real design, by effecting a communication with the opposite side, again to cut off every intercourse of Brutus with his ships. But finding that all the heights on the opposite side were now secured against them by intrenchments, they dropped that intention, and endeavoured, by frequent alarms, and by exposing their own parties on the plain, to engage their antagonist in a general action.

Brutus, in the mean time, having secured his own communication with Neapolis, by a proper disposition of posts from his present encampment to the sea; and trusting that his enemies must, upon the approach of winter, be obliged to evacuate Macedonia, or to separate their army for the convenience of finding subsistence, persisted in his resolution to protract the war. In this conjuncture he wrote to his friend Pomponius Atticus in the following terms: "My object is secure; for either I shall, by my victory, rescue the Romans from the servitude into which they are fallen, or perish in the attempt, and by dying myself escape from slavery. I have done my part, and wait for the issue in which public freedom or death is to follow. As for Antony, who has chosen to become the retainer of Octavius, rather than a sharer with us in the equal rights of a citizen, he has a different alternative, either now to perish with this young man, or, being the dupe of his artifices, to become hereafter the subject of his government."

The troops of Brutus, however, could not be reconciled to this dilatory plan; they began to complain that a victorious army should be cooped up behind intrenchments, and should be insulted like women; even the officers, pretending to reason on the state of the war, censured their general for losing the opportunity, which so great an ardour in the army gave him of deciding the contest at a blow. They alleged,

⁸³ Plutarch. in Bruto.

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that even if the attempt should prove unsuccessful, he might still return to the execution of his defensive and dilatory operations.

Brutus was aware that the army, now under his command, having been trained up as mere soldiers of fortune, had no principle of attachment to either side; that it was necessary to consult their inclinations, as well as to flatter their hopes. He remembered that Cassius had been obliged, in many things, to abate the usual rigour of his discipline; and being himself of a mild and indulgent nature, he yielded to those who were under his command; or not being able to stem the torrent which daily increased, he suffered the impatience of his own men to hurry him into a risk of all his fortunes. In about twenty days after the former action²⁴, overcome by mere importunities, he drew forth his army on the declivity before his camp; the enemy, at the same time, according to their usual practice, were forming upon the plain; and both sides foresaw the approach of a general engagement.

Historians introduce their accounts of the last action at Philippi, with a detail of forms and solemnities, which, on other occasions, they have either omitted to mention, or which were not equally observed. As soon as the parole or word for the day was given over the different divisions of the respective armies, a single trumpet sounded the signal of battle; and was followed by a numerous band, which played in air, while the legions were dressing their ranks, and while the men were trying and handling their arms.

Brutus, being on horseback, passed along the lines of his own army, and exhorted his men not to quit the advantage of the ground on which they stood, by advancing too far to meet the enemy. "You have promised me a victory," he said, "you have forced me to snatch it now, rather than to wait for a more secure possession

²⁴ Plutarch. in Bruto.

" of it hereafter. It is your business to fulfil your own expectations
" and mine."

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On the other side, Antony and Octavius were happy in having their fortunes, hitherto desperate, brought to the chance of a battle. They put their army in mind, that this was what all of them wished : " You are poor and distressed," they said, " but in the enemy's
" camp you will find an end to your sufferings, and the beginning
" of riches and plenty. From us, who are your leaders, you may
" expect the rewards which are due to valour, and every effect of a
" disposition in us which is sufficiently liberal, but which victory
" alone will give us the power to indulge in the manner that we wish."

In these preparations the day being far spent, and noon about three hours already past, the trumpets on both sides having sounded a general charge, made a sudden pause, and sounded again, while both armies being in motion, struck upon their bucklers, advanced with a mighty shout, and, under a shower of missile weapons of every sort, closed with their swords. They continued long with all the fury that kindles in the use of short weapons, to struggle on the same spot. The places of those that fell in the first rank were continually supplied from the ranks behind them ; and the place of action began to be choaked up with heaps of the slain. No stratagem is said to have been practised, or any accident to have happened, to determine the fate of the day on either side ; but, after a severe contest, the army of Brutus began to give way, at first slowly, and almost insensibly ; but being pressed with growing violence, they were thrown into some confusion, and gave up the day without hopes of recovery. In the disorder that followed, numbers, who fled to the camp, finding the entrances obstructed by the crowds that struggled for admission, despaired of safety there, and passed on to the heights in its rear. Octavius advanced to the enemy's camp to secure, or to keep in awe those who had taken refuge within it.

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Antony pursued those who were dispersed on the heights, and, at the approach of night, made the necessary dispositions to hinder those who were within the intrenchment, or those who were in the field, from rallying or assembling again; and employed parties of horse all night to scour all the avenues in search of prisoners.

Brutus himself being cut off from the camp and closely followed, Lucilius, one of his company, to give him time to escape, affecting to personate his general, and falling behind, was taken. This captive, supposed to be Brutus, the leader of the republican army, being conducted to Antony, to whom he was known, met with a reception not unworthy of his generous artifice. "You intended," said Antony to those who brought the prisoner, with a politeness which seemed to refute some of the imputations on his character, "to bring me an enemy, but you have brought me a friend."

Brutus, in the mean time, having in the dark passed a brook that ran between steep and rocky banks covered with wood, made a halt, with a few friends, on the opposite side, as in a place of safety. Being yet uncertain of the extent of his loss, he sent an officer to observe the field, and with orders, if any considerable body of the army were yet together, to light a blaze as a signal or token of its safety. This officer accordingly made his way to the camp, and finding it still in the possession of his friends, made the signal; but lest it should not be observed, he attempted to return to his general, fell into the enemy's hands, and was slain.

As, from the signal now made, it appeared to Brutus and the small company who attended him, that the camp was still in possession of their own people, they thought of making their way thither; but recollecting that the greater part of the army were dispersed, they

** Plut. in Bruto.

doubted whether the lines could be defended until they could reach them, or even if they should be maintained so long, whether they could furnish any safe retreat. While they reasoned in this manner, one of their number, who went to the brook for water, returned with an alarm that the enemy were upon the opposite bank; and saying, with some agitation, "We must fly." "Yes," replied Brutus, "but with our hands, not with our feet." He was then said to have repeated, from some poet, a tragic exclamation in the character of Hercules: *O Virtue! I thought thee a substance, but find thee no more than an empty name, or the slave of Fortune.* The vulgar, in their traditions, willingly lend their own thoughts to eminent men in distress; those of Brutus are expressed in his letter to Atticus already quoted: *I have done my part, and wait for the issue, in which death or freedom is to follow.* If he had ever thought that a mere honourable intention was to ensure him success, it is surprising he was not sooner undeceived. Being now to end his life, and taking his leave of the company then present, one by one, he said aloud, That he was happy in never having been betrayed by any one he had trusted as a friend. Some of them, to whom he afterwards whispered apart, were observed to burst into tears; and it appeared that he requested their assistance in killing himself; for he soon afterwards executed this purpose, in company with one Strato and some others, whom he had taken aside.

This catastrophe, as usual, set the imaginations of men to work; and many prodigies and presages were believed to have preceded it. A spectre, it was said, had presented itself in the night to Brutus, when he was about to pass the Hellespont, told him it was his evil genius, and was to meet him again at Philippi; that here it accordingly again appeared on the eve of the late action.

Brutus

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Brutus was then about thirty-seven or forty years of age⁵⁶. Next to Cato he, of all the Romans, was supposed to have acted from the purest motives of public virtue. Cassius had too much elevation of mind to endure a master; but Brutus was likewise too just to have usurped on the rights of his fellow citizens, even if they had been in his power. His character, however, in some respects, is questionable; and we may not, through the disguise of manners so different from our own, be able to ascertain the truth. Cicero, who is at once the principal author of his fame and of the exceptions which are taken against it, charges him with an uncommon degree of arrogance, and complains of the tone which, while yet a young man, he took even with himself⁵⁷. He likewise relates some particulars of a loan which one Scaptius had transacted for Brutus in the island of Cyprus, and of which the payment was exacted under the proconsulate of Cicero, with circumstances of uncommon avarice and cruelty; and that in this he even presumed to demand that the Roman Proconsul should support him with all his authority. The loan was usurious, and, in exacting the payment of it, the Senate of Salamis, in the island of Cyprus, had been surrounded by a party of cavalry, and shut up from the use of food. Cicero writes of this proceeding to Atticus, with every expression of blame and indignation; and yet Brutus, then a young man, continued to be held in the highest veneration and esteem by persons who were acquainted with these particulars. "If you should have no other advantage," says Atticus, in writing to Cicero, "from your present government, but the opportunity of gaining the friendship of Brutus, this alone will be enough." And Cicero himself frequently mentions Brutus, after this transaction, with

⁵⁶ Liv. Epitome, lib. cxliv. Vel. Pater- Ad me autem etiam cum rogat aliquid, contumaciter, arroganter, & insolenter, solet scribere.

⁵⁷ Ad Attic. lib. v. ep. 21 & lib. vi. ep. 1. bere.

peculiar expressions of admiration and love". So that we must either suppose Brutus to have been innocent of this extortion and cruelty committed by his agent in Cyprus, or that such proceedings, though contrary to law, were so much authorised by the practice of the times, as to stain the manners of the age much more than the characters of individuals. Of these conjectures, perhaps, both are in part to be admitted: the law of the republic forbidding the interest of money under the denomination of usury, inflamed, rather than prevented, the evil. Under this prohibition, the necessitous borrower was made to pay for the risk and obloquy which the lender incurred by transgressing the law, as well as for the use of his money. It was impossible to prevent what is necessary in the common course of things; persons having occasion for money must borrow; and persons having money will lend, in order to reap the benefit of it. It appears to have been customary with towns in the provinces, with corporations, and with dependent princes, to borrow money at exorbitant interest from the rich at Rome; and probably to employ that money in making presents to gain the powerful". Pompey had great sums owing to him in Asia, and likewise received great presents from thence. These we must admit to have been great abuses; but individuals are not always accountable for the abuses of their age, even where they have not corrected them in their own practice.

Brutus and Cassius, the last unsuccessful leaders of the republican party, even after it became a crime to mention their names with respect, were revered in secret by every person who had any memory or conception of the ancient republic, and will, in every age, be held in estimation by those who conceive merit as independent of fortune. Even Antony, it is said, when the death of Brutus

⁵⁸ Vid. lib. de Claris Oratoribus, cap. 3. &c. &c. This book is expressly dated after the return of Cicero from Cilicia.

⁵⁹ Cicer. ad Attic. lib. v. ep. 21.

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was reported to him, expressed the highest respect for his memory, covered his remains with the imperial robe which he himself wore in the field, and ordered his obsequies to be performed with the highest marks of distinction and honour⁶⁰; in this instance probably acting from policy, or, under all the vices of dissipation and profligacy with which he was charged, knowing how to seize the occasion of gaining public esteem, by splendid pretensions to generosity and candour.

Octavius, who far excelled his colleague in the ordinary arts of discretion and policy, is represented as greatly inferior to him in his behaviour on the present occasion. It is said that he ordered the head of Brutus to be carried into Italy, and exposed on Caesar's tomb; and, among other proofs of insolence and cruelty which he gave in the present prosperous tide of his fortunes, that having among his prisoners a father and a son of the name of Florus, he ordered that one of them should be put to death, and that they should cast lots, or fight, to determine which should be spared. Under this cruel sentence, the father intreated that he himself might die. Octavius attended to see the execution; and, after the death of the father, likewise witnessed that of the son, who killed himself⁶¹.

That part of the vanquished army which fled to the heights, being about fourteen thousand men, hearing of the death of the last of their leaders, surrendered themselves, and were equally divided between Octavius and Antony. Those who remained in the camp, or at any of the out-posts of the army, likewise laid down their arms. Of the persons of rank who partook in the wreck of their party at Philippi, some escaped by sea, and joined Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, now the sole refuge of those who adhered to the commonwealth. Others killed themselves, or in the late action had refused quarter,

⁶⁰ Plut. in Antonio et Bruto.

⁶¹ Sueton. in Octav. c. 14. Dio. Cass. dates this particular after the battle of Actium.

and fought till they were slain. Among the first were Livius Drusus, the father of Livia, afterwards the wife of Octavius. Among the second were two young men of distinguished names; Cato, the son of him who died at Utica, and Lucius Cassius, nephew of the late general. Labeo, with great deliberation, prepared a grave for himself in his tent, wrote to his family at Rome, gave directions about his affairs, and then submitted himself to a person whom he had retained to put an end to his life.

It appears to have been a point of honour among the Romans of this age, to perish by their own hands rather than by that of their antagonists, otherwise they could have easily, when fortune appeared to have declared against them, forced the enemy to bestow that death which they afterwards obtained with great reluctance from their friends; and perhaps, in forcing matters to this extremity, they might have turned the fortune of battle. Cæsar seems to have owed his victory, on some occasions, to efforts of this sort, and his party in general prevailed by their perseverance under checks and difficulties, as much as by the advantage they took of their victories⁶².

⁶² See the History of the Campaigns on the Segra at Dyrrachium, and in Africa.

CHAP. V.

Immediate Consequences of the Event at Philippi.—New Partition of the Empire made by Octavius and Antony.—Their Separation.—Progress of Octavius at Rome.—His Friends Mæcenas and Agrippa.—Alarm and Distress in Italy on the Dispossession of the Inhabitants to make way for the Troops.—Jealousy of Fulvia and Lucius Antonius.—Blockade and Reduction of Perusia.—Progress of Antony in Asia.—His Stay at Alexandria.—Return to Italy.—Accommodation with Sextus Pompeius.—Return of Octavius and Antony to Rome.—Their Policy.

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AMONG the immediate consequences of the late event at Philippi, is mentioned the death of Porcia, the wife of Brutus, and the daughter of Cato. Being suspected of an intention to kill herself, watched by her servants, and anxiously precluded from the ordinary means of effecting that purpose, she swallowed burning coals, and expired. This was said to have happened on hearing of her husband's death; but Plutarch cites a letter of Brutus, extant in his own time, from which it appeared that this catastrophe preceded the death of Brutus, and was imputed to the negligence of her servants, who attended her in the delirium of a fever.

By the battles which had been fought in different parts of the empire, by the late massacre in Italy, and by the event of the war at Philippi, the last pillars of the commonwealth seemed to be removed, or but a few of its members were left who had any zeal for its preservation. Octavius and Antony, upon the total and decisive victory

* Plut. in Bruto.

they had gained, without paying any regard to the pretensions of Lepidus, made a new partition of the empire. Octavius, to his former lot, had an addition of Spain and Numidia; Antony that of the farther Gaul and the province of Africa². It was agreed between them, that Antony should prosecute the remains of the war in the East, and raise the necessary contributions to enable them to fulfil their engagements to the army: that Octavius should return into Italy, conduct the war against Sextus Pompeius, repress the designs of Lepidus, in case he should be dissatisfied with the present arrangement, and in proper time settle the veterans on the lands which had been allotted to them. These articles were committed to writing, and the ratifications exchanged. Antony having received from Octavius a reinforcement of two legions, departed for Asia, and Octavius set out on his return to Rome.

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When accounts of the final action at Philippi were received in the city, a thanksgiving was ordered; and, instead of being limited to fifty or to sixty days, as in the late decrees which had past in honour of Julius Cæsar, this festival was now to be continued for an entire year. In proportion to the approaches which the republican party made to its entire extinction, the few who remained of it carried an affectation of joy that kept pace with their real sorrow. Their fears broke forth in profuse expressions of pretended attachment and zeal for the honour of those whom they dreaded.

Under such an aspect of gladness, covering extreme anxiety or terror, the pacific inhabitants of Italy looked for the arrival of an army which was to be gratified with their richest possessions. They remembered what had passed at former military entries into Rome, and they anticipated the sufferings which were to be expected from a young man who had, during some time, and from mere policy,

² Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 1.

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assumed an air of moderation, and employed every artifice to forward his purpose; but in proportion as he became secure of his end, threw off his original mask, and concurred in *usurpations the most bloody* of any that had been known in the history of mankind. Octavius being detained by sickness on his way to the city, these gloomy apprehensions gained force from delay. It was supposed that he deferred his arrival only while he adjusted his plan, or took measures to render its effects more certain. Every one exaggerated the evil, but no one thought of a remedy. Such was the present state of a helpless Nobility and People, the remains of a commonwealth, long accustomed to dominion, retaining their haughtiness while they lost their vigour, long desirous of power, but unable to sustain the weight of a free constitution.

Octavius gave notice to the Senate, that his coming was delayed by sickness, accepted the decree of a continued thanksgiving for the late victory obtained at Philippi, but desired it might be understood, that this honour was conferred on account of the exemplary justice he had done on the assassins of his father. The cunning with which he occasionally dropt this pretence, or with which he resumed it, as the motive of all his pursuits, forms a striking part in his character. He at one time co-operated with the conspirators, and declared it to be his intention, in conjunction with them, to restore the republic. He accordingly promoted the resolutions which were taken at Rome in favour of Decimus, as well as Marcus Brutus and Cassius; he promoted the election of Calpurnius into the office of Tribune; he raised an army to support them against Antony, and took into his councils the most vehement partizans of the Senate. "*Even Servius Galba, holding the very dagger with which he murdered Cæsar,*" said Antony to him, in his letter during the siege of Mutina, "*is now employed in your camp.*" As he often, however, on former oc-

³ Cicer. Philip. Antony to Octavius and Hirtius.

cautions, courted the army, by affecting a pious intention to avenge his father's death, so he now recurred to the same pretence, as the most likely to counterbalance the favour that was paid to the memory of Brutus and Cassius, and the general regret which attended the catastrophe of the last scene that was acted in behalf of the commonwealth.

About this time, Octavius was known to have in his service two officers of distinguished merit, Marcus Vipfanius Agrippa and Caius Cilnius Mæcenas; both well qualified in their respective parts to support him in the pretensions he had formed on the empire. The first, by his courage and military abilities, was qualified to supply or to conceal his defects as a soldier; the second, by his industry, his temper, his choice of friends, and his fitness to soften the manners of the times, by diverting the minds of men from objects of public distress to the elegant and amusing occupations of literary genius, well qualified to smooth all difficulties in the way of his civil administration. Although it had not yet appeared in what degree Octavius was to commit his affairs to such able hands, his discernment in choosing them might be considered as the presage of a fortune not depending on accidents, but founded in a real ascendant of understanding and judgment.

U. C. 712.
L. Antonius,
P. Servilius,
Vatinius
Istauricus.

Upon the arrival of the young Cæsar at Rome, he gave assurances to the Senate of his intention to avoid all unnecessary acts of severity³. But the first object of his administration being to settle the veterans on the possessions which they had been made to expect at the end of the war, he was very soon led into a scene of extreme violence, and involved in great difficulties.

At the formation of the Triumvirate the army had been flattered with the hopes of being settled on the most fertile lands, or in the

³ Dio. Cass. lib. xl. iii. c. 3.

wealthiest.

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wealthiest cities of Italy. In order to fulfil these expectations, it was necessary to dispossess the ancient inhabitants; and as this was to be done without any pretence of forfeiture, or delinquency of any sort, the unhappy sufferers pleaded, that the lands intended for the army should be taken by lot, or in equal proportions, and in every part of the empire. But the soldiers were absolute, and not to be satisfied but by immediate possession of the lots which had been actually assigned as the reward of their services. A general order was accordingly signed for the present occupiers of those lands to remove. The victims of this severity repaired to Rome in entire families; persons of every sex, age, and condition crowded the streets, took shelter in the temples and other places of public resort, and filled the city with complaints and lamentations. "The ancient inhabitants of Italy, citizens of Rome," they said, "were stripped of their possessions, and turned out to perish with their children, to make way for adventurers who had subverted the laws of their country, and who were to perpetuate the military usurpation they had established. The same violent hands which had stripped the Roman People of their sovereignty, were now to be let loose on their property. The innocent, who had taken no part in the late troubles, were to be sacrificed merely, because their possessions suited the conveniency of those who had already brought so many evils on the commonwealth. They had been promised protection from this party; but were now to suffer from their pretended protectors and friends, greater evils than any conquered province had ever endured from the worst of its enemies."

* Publius Virgilius Maro is said to have been of this injured train. Having had a small property in land near Mantua, he was stripped of it to make way for an officer of the legions; a wrong to which he so tenderly alludes in his eclogue (*Nos patriæ fines et dulcia linquimus arva, nos patriam fugimus*). But being recommended to Mæcenas by Asinius Pollio, who commanded in that part of Italy, he obtained, from the respect that was due to his fine genius, a protection which humanity and justice owed equally to every other person that was involved in this calamity.—Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

To these complaints both the army and its leaders were equally insensible, and proceeded, in particular instances, to acts of violence, which the execution of their general purpose did not require. They kept the minds of the people in suspense by their indecision in choosing their lots; by quitting those which were at first assigned, in order to exchange them for others; and, by leaving particular persons without any regular grant or assignment, to make free with such lands as suited their conveniency. The leaders were obliged to connive at what they could not restrain, and gave way to a violence to which they owed the possession of their power^o.

The army now considering the lands of Italy as their property, looked upon every person inclined to protect the antient inhabitants as their enemy, resented every delay that was made in gratifying their desires, and were equally insolent to their own officers as they were to the People. A party being assembled in the Campus Martius to receive their dismissal and their assignments of land; and having some time waited for Octavius, from whom they expected satisfaction in these particulars, became impatient and clamorous, laid violent hands on Nonius, a Centurion, who endeavoured to pacify them, and even threw him into the river, where he perished. They afterwards dragged the dead body on shore, and placed it on the way by which their general was to pass, as a warning, that he himself should not slight their displeasure. Octavius being informed, before he came abroad, of this menacing insult which had been offered to his authority, saw the necessity of not appearing to be moved. He passed the dead body without seeming to observe it, made the intended distribution of land to the troops; and affecting to consider the murder of Nonius as the effect of a private quarrel, in which he was to take no part, left this dangerous meeting with an exhortation, that

^o Appian. lib. v.

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The cohorts which Octavius retained for the ordinary guard of his own person, treated him, on occasion, with equal disrespect. As an instance of this sort, it is mentioned, that one of their body having, at the public theatre, seated himself on the Equestrian bench, and the audience being scandalized at this act of presumption, the soldier was removed by order of his general; but his companions being made to believe that he was carried away to be put to death, placed themselves in the way of Octavius, as he passed from the theatre, and, with clamours and threats of instant revenge, demanded their fellow-soldier to be restored. Having prevailed in this particular, they called upon him to declare what usage he had received; and when they were told by himself that no violence had been offered to him, they alleged that he was hired to conceal the truth, and to betray the honour of the army, and were scarcely to be appeased by his repeated asseverations to the contrary.

In these dangerous times, enormities which were committed by disorderly persons of any description being imputed to the soldiers, were suffered to pass with impunity. Robbery and murders became frequent, and the city of Rome itself, as well as the provincial towns, was infested by persons who, either from necessity, or from the licence of the times, subsisted by rapine. No property was safe, and the condition of persons of all parties equally insecure. At Rome the rent of houses fell to a fourth, and whole streets appeared to be deserted⁷.

In this distracted scene, nevertheless, there were persons who envied Octavius the hateful pre-eminence which he seemed to enjoy. Among these Manius, the person entrusted with the affairs of Mark

⁷ Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 9.

Antony, Lucius his brother, now in the office of Consul, and Fulvia his wife, aspiring to a share of the government, became impatient of an administration from which they thought themselves unfairly excluded. Not only L. Antonius, in the capacity of Consul, but the others also, in right of the absent Triumvir, thought themselves intitled to more consideration than they now enjoyed.

The power of distributing the lands and other rewards to the army, it was observed, gave Octavius a signal advantage over his colleague, and fixed the expectations of all men upon him alone. By these means he filled Italy with his own retainers and friends; and Fulvia complained that Mark Antony should be thus deprived of the fruits of a victory, which had been obtained chiefly by his conduct and valour. She appealed to the legions, presented herself at their quarters, and, with her children in her arms, implored, what she was pleased to call, a matter of right in behalf of her husband.

In this manner, persons representing the absent Triumvir endeavoured to divide the party, and to add to the scene of political confusion already subsisting, a breach and opposition of interest among those who commanded the army. The country, at the same time, suffered from the interruption that was given by the fleets of Domitius Ahenobarbus and Sextus Pompeius, from the opposite ports of Illyricum and Sicily, to the importation of corn and other necessaries; and this circumstance, joined to the uncertainty of property, and the other causes which interrupted industry, completed the distresses of Italy.

The People, although they were willing to submit to any government, were not likely to be long able to endure their present sufferings. The friends of Antony endeavoured to load Octavius with the blame of these evils, and thought this a favourable opportunity to wrest the government out of his hands. They found fault with the provision he had made for the army as too scanty; and they joined in the complaints that were made by the sufferers, who were

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dispossessed of their property to make way for the soldiers. They affected a design to restore the republic; and Lucius Antonius, in the character of Roman Consul, called upon the remaining friends of the commonwealth to appear in support of their legal magistrate. He professed his intention to make war even on his own brother, as well as on Octavius, if he should persist in his present usurpations, or should attempt to obstruct the restoration of the laws. But, notwithstanding his professions to this purpose, he himself, affecting to believe that his person was in danger, put his attendants under arms, and paraded the streets at the head of a military force; a measure that was ever considered at Rome as the intimation of a design to usurp the government.

Octavius, greatly provoked by these attacks which were made upon him by the representatives of Antony, repudiated the daughter of Fulvia, whom, at the formation of the Triumvirate, he had betrothed merely to serve a political purpose, and whom he now returned to her family, with express declarations of his never having had any commerce with her as his wife. Fulvia, affecting to consider this insult as a prelude to greater injuries, appealed to Lepidus in behalf of his absent colleague, and withdrew to Præneste, whither great numbers of all ranks and conditions, both civil and military, flocked to her standard. Here she put herself at the head of an army, held regular councils, and, with a sword by her side, gave the parole, and frequently harangued the troops.

In these hasty advances to a rupture, representations to Antony, and preparations for war, were equally made on both sides. It was yet uncertain how the army might divide between the parties. Octavius was likely, by his presence, to command the superior number; but great part of the forces now in Italy had been levied in the name of Antony, and still, according to the custom of those armies, bore his name on their shields. The two legions which were to have been

been transferred to Octavius, to replace those which he had given to Antony in Macedonia, were still retained by Lucius Antonius for his brother. The provinces of Gaul, with considerable armies, ready to march into Italy, were under the government of Ventidius, of Plancus, and of Asinius Pollio, who were the adherents of Antony, and likely to espouse his cause. Antony himself, by the superiority of his military character, had, in the course of his joint operations with Octavius, greatly surpassed him, and had acquired a high degree of reputation with the troops. It was, therefore, necessary for his rival to proceed with great caution, and not rashly to draw upon himself, in this quarrel, the weight of his colleague's authority, nor to disgust the army, by appearing to be the aggressor in a war between their leaders.

Such disputes were certainly in general disagreeable to the army, who, having subdued the republic, hoped, now at their ease, to divide its spoils. It was necessary, therefore, for Octavius, if a war should ensue, to make it appear to be the work of his enemies. For this purpose he formed at Rome a council of the principal officers; proposed that they should make enquiry into the grounds of the present dissention, and oblige those who were in fault to submit to their decrees.

Fulvia and her partizans called this military convention by a ludicrous name, which we may translate *the Ammunition Senate**, and refused to submit their cause to so new a tribunal.

The army in general was alarmed at the prospect of seeing the civil war renewed. Two legions that had first served under Cæsar, and afterwards under Antony, being now quartered at Ancona, sent a deputation to Rome, with intreaties that the parties would avoid a rupture. They were referred by Octavius to L. Antonius, who, he

* *Senatus Caligatus.*

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faid, was the aggressor; and proceeding, attended by a great concourse of people to Prænesté, where the heads of the opposite party were assembled, beseeched them to spare the republic, already too much afflicted with civil dissensions. They were told for answer, "That Octavius was the aggressor; that while his colleague was raising money for the benefit of the army, he was artfully changing the inhabitants of Italy, and occupying all the important stations of the empire with his own retainers and creatures; that the money, which, under pretence of supporting the war against Sextus Pompeius, had been taken from the treasury, was by Octavius diverted from its use, and employed in corrupting the troops of his friend; that the estates of the proscribed, under the pretence of sales, at which, besides the creatures of Octavius, there was no man to purchase, had been actually employed by him for the same purpose; that, if he really meant to avoid a rupture, he ought to do nothing, without consulting the friends of his colleague, who were equally entitled with himself to share in the fruits of their common victory obtained at Philippi. But I know," said Lucius Antonius, "the falsehood of Octavius; while he amuses you with the hopes of a negotiation and treaty, and with professions of having nothing at heart besides your interest, he is arming himself with the utmost diligence, and has reinforced the garrison of Brundisium, with an evident purpose to obstruct the return of his colleague, and your principal friend, into Italy."

Octavius being in possession of the capital, in order that he might appear to have, not only the authority of government, but the countenance likewise of all the more respectable citizens of Rome on his side, called an assembly of the Senate, at which he invited the Equestrian order to attend. He represented to this assembly the calamities that were now impending over Italy from the jealousy and restless ambition of a few persons, who called themselves the friends of Mark Antony,

Antony, and he exhorted them with one accord to join him in averting these evils. He accordingly obtained a deputation to be sent to Præneste, where the heads of the opposite party were still assembled, to remonstrate against their procedure. This measure however had no other effect, besides that which Octavius proposed by it, that of transferring to his enemies the blame of all the evils which were expected to follow.

An expedient was proposed, more likely to prevent these evils, by a conference to be held by the military officers of the opposite sides, who, perceiving themselves about to be involved in a quarrel, were extremely averse to risk all the advantages they had already obtained, without any prospect of gain. This expedient of a military congress was suggested by the officers themselves, and was readily embraced by their leaders. Gabii being half way from Præneste to Rome, was fixed upon as the place at which they should meet; but on the day on which they were to open their conference, parties of horse having been, from some remains of distrust, without any concert, sent forward on both sides to escort their deputies, and mutually to observe each other, they met unexpectedly on the highway, and coming to blows, numbers were killed or wounded, and the intended convention was dropped.

Each of the parties, in consequence of this accident, published a manifesto, and began to assemble in a hostile manner. Lucius Antonius had ordered new levies, and with these, joined to the troops already on foot, under the authority of his brother, and who were now stationed in the nearer province of Gaul, under Calenus, he proposed to assemble an army of eleven legions.

Octavius ordered six legions under Salvidienus, from Spain; and having already four in Italy, with a considerable body of troops, which, under the designation of Prætorian bands, made the ordinary guard

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guard of his person, he took the field to prevent the designs of his enemies.

The nobility and citizens of rank were divided; but the greater part, who had yet any hopes of seeing the civil government restored, thought themselves safer in the party of the Consul Lucius Antonius, than in that of Cæsar; and accordingly repaired to his camp.

Sextus Pompeius, on the eve of a contest thus likely to divide his enemies, might have made himself of considerable consequence, or might have obtained advantageous terms from either party. His forces had been greatly augmented by the accession of two legions, the remains of the wreck at Philippi, that had escaped with Murcus. He might have got a footing in Italy, and, by the favourable disposition of many who felt the oppression of the present government, or dreaded the future effects of its tyranny, might have held the balance between the contending parties. He, nevertheless, either under the notion of leaving his enemies to waste their strength against each other, or not having a sufficient genius for such arduous enterprises, suffered the opportunity to escape, and contented himself with endeavouring to secure his possession of Sicily and Sardinia, which he hoped to retain as a patrimony independent of Rome.

Enobarbus, the other remaining leader or representative of the republican party, who was still hovering on the opposite coast of Italy with the remains of the fleet, which he had commanded under Brutus and Cassius, made frequent descents, and plundered the recent settlements of the veterans. He even forced his way into the harbour of Brundisium, took some galleys belonging to Octavius, and laid waste the adjacent country; but, while he was acting in a manner equally hostile to both parties, the forces of the Triumvirs, indifferent to every external enemy, began to assemble against each other. Lepidus declared for Octavius, and these two having left the

†

city

city together, Lucius Antonius presented himself at the gates, and was admitted. Having assembled the people, he declared that his intention was to restore the republic. His brother, he said, for the future desired no illegal powers, and was ready to join in calling Octavius and Lepidus to account for the tyranny they had lately exercised against the ancient inhabitants of Italy.

In the mean time, the event of this contest appeared to depend on the movements that were making on the side of Spain and Gaul. Salvidienus being on his march to join Octavius, Asinius and Ventidius hung on his rear. Agrippa, on the part of Cæsar, passed the Po in order to join Salvidienus; and having succeeded in this design, they obliged Asinius and Ventidius to remain on the defensive, expecting the arrival of Lucius Antonius, who was on his march to support them.

When Antonius came to a pass of the Apennines, on the Flaminian way, he found the gorges of these mountains already occupied by Agrippa and Salvidienus; not attempting to force them, he fell back to Perugia, and sent orders to Ventidius to join him by some other route; but Octavius having got possession of Sentinum and Nursia, two posts on the opposite sides of the mountains, effectually prevented the junction of his enemies, assembled all his forces in the neighbourhood of Perugia, and invested Antonius in that place. He drew a line of circumvallation, extending about fifty stadia, or six miles, and placed his army between two parallels, equally strong, against any attempts that were likely to be made from the garrison, or from the field.

Lucius Antonius being thus shut up in Perugia during the autumn, and part of winter, and all the efforts of Fulvia, Asinius, Ventidius, and Plancus, to succour him being ineffectual, he was reduced, from want of provisions, to the greatest extremities, and offered to capitulate.

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Octavius, in accepting this offer, with his usual address, took measures to divide his enemies, or to sow the seeds of future jealousy among them. He affected to distinguish the regular troops, which had been formed to serve under his colleague Mark Antony, from the Roman citizens, or rather supposed disorderly persons, who had taken a part in this insurrection. The first, from pretended respect to their leader, he allowed to withdraw with honour, the others he required to surrender at discretion. In complying with this requisition, L. Antonius himself set the example, went forth in person to receive the victor's commands, and being courteously treated, alleged his duty as a civil magistrate, and his desire to restore the commonwealth, as an apology for his conduct, and implored mercy for those who had embarked with him in the same design. Octavius replied, "That as his enemies had surrendered themselves at discretion, he should make no remarks on the truth of their plea, nor talk of conditions, where he was not to be bound by a treaty; that he must now consider not only what his enemies had merited, but what was due to himself." Having found among his prisoners some of the veterans who had served under Cæsar, he was disposed to have ordered them all to be executed; but observing that this measure was extremely offensive to his own army, he confined his severities to the Roman citizens, who, he pretended, had on this occasion acted with equal animosity to the army, and to himself. To avenge the supposed injury that was done to the army, all persons of the civil description, found under arms, were put to death. Of these, Cannutius, C. Flavius, Clodius Bythinicus, and others, are mentioned by Appian*. This Cannutius is said by Dion Cassius to have been the Tribune, who presenting Octavius to his first audience from the People, contributed so much to the rise of his fortunes.

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

The greater part of the executions were performed in the presence of Octavius, and in the manner of sacrifices to the manes, or to the divinity, of Julius Cæsar. In this form, however detestable, they were supposed, in that age, to carry an aspect of piety, which sanctified the cruelty with which they were ordered, and with which Octavius himself witnessed the scene. Four hundred of the Senatorian and Equestrian order, are said, by Dion Cassius and Suetonius, to have perished in this manner¹². The magistrates and council of Perugia, being separately ordered to execution, implored for mercy, but had one general answer, *You must die*¹³. The place itself, whether by the desperation of its inhabitants, or by the outrage of those who were now become masters of it, was set on fire, and burnt to the ground. The country around being deserted, or laid waste with fire and sword, and cleared of its former possessors, became a prey to such followers of the army as chose to occupy it¹⁴.

At the date of this odious transaction, Octavius was no more than twenty-three years of age; and though, in former examples of cruelty, his youth may have been over-ruled or misled by the party-rage of his colleagues, yet, in this instance, he himself betrayed a merciless nature, in the effects of which he had no man to share, or to divide the blame¹⁵; and the world began to dread more from the separate power which he was about to establish, than they did from the joint usurpation, in which he bore a part, with persons, of whom the one was contemned for want of capacity, and the other detested for his profligate manners.

Before the breaking out of this war in Italy, Domitius Calvinus and Asinius Pollio had been destined Consuls; and the year follow-

U. C. 713.
L. Dom.
Calvinus,
Asinius
Pollio.

¹² Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 14.

¹³ Sueton. in Octav. c. 15.

¹⁴ Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 14 & 15.

¹⁵ Livii Epitome, lib. cxxvi.

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ing that, in which these transactions passed, is accordingly dated or inscribed with their names. They were prevented however, by this breach, between the adherents of Antony and of Caesar, from taking the formal possession of their office.

Pollio holding his commission from Mark Antony, although he had no opportunity to act, was understood to join with the brother in the late division of their parties. While the war continued, being stationed in his province in the district of Venetia, he carried on a correspondence with Ænobarbus, and representing Lucius Antonius, with his title of Roman Consul, as legal head of the republic, endeavoured to engage that officer on his side; but, in the event of the war, this correspondence was broke off, and the military adherents of Antony being dispersed or cut off, his relations and retainers fled in different directions.

Fulvia, escorted by three thousand horse, took the road to Brundisium, and from thence, with Plancus and some other attendants, under the convoy of five galleys, sailed to Greece. Julia, the aged mother of Antony, took refuge with Sextus Pompeius in Sicily. Thither likewise fled Tiberius Claudius Nero, with his wife Livia Drusilla, and her infant son, persons often to be mentioned in the sequel of this history, as principal sharers in that power which now seemed to be raised on the ruin of their fortunes. Others had recourse to the protection of Ænobarbus on the coast of Apulia.

While the relations of Antony in Italy were engaged in this unfortunate contest, he himself had passed from Greece through Asia into Egypt, where believing all his difficulties were at an end, he indulged his natural disposition to pleasure and dissipation. At Ephesus he had assembled the principal inhabitants of the province of

²⁴ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

Asia,

Asia, proposed a contribution, and represented the occasion which obliged his colleagues and himself to make a demand for money.

"They were about to disband the army," he said, "consisting of no less than twenty-eight legions, to whom were due great arrears of pay, together with deserved rewards and gratuities for past services. One of my colleagues," he continued, "is gone into Italy to provide settlements for this numerous army, or rather, to remove all the inhabitants of that country, in order to make way for them. The task of finding supplies of money lies upon me, and I am persuaded you will own we are very moderate, when we demand no more than you gave to our enemies. Necessity, however, obliges us to exact, in one year, what Brutus and Cassius levied in two. *You will please then to order,*" said one of the audience, *"two summers and two harvests in this wonderful year; for you, who can command us to pay the tax of two years in one, can likewise order the fruits of both years to be gathered in one."*

Antony, who paid more regard to wit than to the considerations either of humanity or justice, was pleased with this answer, and agreed that the proposed subsidy should be levied in two years, instead of one¹⁵. From Ephesus, he travelled by the coast towards Syria, laid heavy contributions, disposed of lands and country seats, of which he made gifts to his retainers and followers. He received frequent applications for such favours from those who attended him, under pretence that the estates, which they coveted, were either deserted or occupied by an enemy. To his cook, in particular, he is said to have given the grant of a large possession, for having pleased him in the dressing of a supper. In his own behaviour, he exhibited that dissipation and extravagance, to which he ever returned in the moments of triumph and relaxation, and shewed, in the gaiety and

¹⁵ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

¹⁶ Plut. in Antonio.

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festivity of his court, a perfect contrast to the melancholy with which the inhabitants of every province were seized on his approach¹⁷. He had probably seen Cleopatra in Italy, during her intimacy with Julius Cæsar; and now, supposing himself come in place of that successful adventurer as head of the empire, he thought of this prize as the reward of his labours, and possibly considered her as the principal object of his journey to the East. In order to heighten the scene of their meeting, with a farce to consist of a supposed quarrel and reconciliation, he affected to believe a report of her having ordered her fleet from Cyprus to join that of Cassius in the late war, and he sent her a formal summons to meet him in Cilicia, and to give in her answers to this heavy charge.

Cleopatra accordingly appeared on the Cydnus on board a galley, with a splendid retinue, and dazzled the Roman Triumvir with the profusion of her ornaments, the elegance of her equipage, and the charms of her person. She was now about nine and twenty years of age, and being acquainted with the languages and manners of different nations, particularly instructed in the literature of the Greeks, and being in the maturity of wit and beauty, she joined the arts of a coquet, with all the accomplishments which became the birth and the high condition of a queen. Being invited to sup with Antony, she pleaded that he should begin with accepting her invitation. At their first entertainment, observing that his raillery favoured of the camp, she humoured him in this manner, and even surpassed him in the freedom of her conversation.

From thenceforward Antony laid aside all business, followed the queen of Egypt to her kingdom, leaving his own provinces exposed to an enemy, by whom they were soon after assailed and overrun; and while this storm was raging in the East, and his brother, with

¹⁷ Plut. in Antonio.

his other adherents in Italy, were struggling for his share in the government of the empire, and obliged to fly or submit to his rival, he passed the winter at Alexandria in frolic and dissipation¹⁸. To gratify the jealousy of Cleopatra, he ordered Arsinoë, her sister and competitor for the throne, who had hitherto been confined at Miletus, to be put to death. In every other particular, he suffered himself to be governed by her caprice, and with the ensigns and attendance of a Roman Consul, and first officer of the state in the empire, lived like a boy under the influence of his first amour. The course of his pleasures, however, was in a little time effectually interrupted, by a report of the state of his affairs in Syria and the Lesser Asia.

Pacorus, the son of the king of Parthia, had passed the Euphrates with a great army, had overrun Syria, and was making hasty advances in Cilicia. He was conducted in this expedition by Labienus, a Roman officer¹⁹, who, on the part of Brutus and Cassius, had resided at the court of Parthia, while the fate of the empire yet remained in suspense at Philippi, and who now persuaded the Parthians to attempt the conquest of opulent provinces in their neighbourhood, which, together with the Roman republic itself, were become the possession of mere adventurers, unacknowledged and unsupported by the laws of the commonwealth.

Upon this alarm, Antony had assembled the naval forces of Asia and of Egypt, and had set sail with two hundred galleys for the coast of Phœnicia; when the misconduct and distress of his relations in Italy were reported to him, and shewed him the necessity of directing thither the armament which he had fitted out against the Parthians, in order to re-establish his interest, and to save the remains

¹⁸ Plut. in Antonio.

¹⁹ Supposed to be the son of him who served under Julius Cæsar in the reduction

of Gaul, and afterwards against him in the civil war.

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of his power.²⁰ Having committed the command of his forces in Asia therefore to Ventidius, he steered for Greece. Upon his arrival at Athens, he was received by Fulvia, whose salutations were, probably, less flattering than those to which he had been lately accustomed in Egypt. The husband and the wife, on this occasion, were mutually disposed to blame and to recriminate. He complained of the flame which had been so unseasonably raised in his affairs in Italy, and she of his notorious infidelities to her bed, and of his remissness in the care of his interest. She was supposed, in fomenting the late quarrel with Octavius, to have acted so much from jealousy of Cleopatra, as to have industriously created troubles in Italy, in order to hasten the return of her husband from Egypt.

At Athens, Antony was likewise met by Scribonius Libo, the father-in-law of Sextus Pompeius, who, under pretence of conducting his mother Julia in safety to her son, brought overtures of an alliance and proposals, to form some concert for the conduct of their operations on the opposite coasts of Italy against Octavius. To this proposal, however, Antony made no decisive reply. In the late partition of the empire, Italy was not made a part in the separate lot of any of the Triumvirs; but being equally open to all of them, Antony professed being on his way thither, not as an enemy of Octavius, but as his colleague in the government, equally interested with himself to preserve the capital of the empire undisturbed. In answer to Libo, therefore, he acknowledged his obligation to Sextus Pompeius, for the honourable manner in which he had treated his relation, assured him, that if an opportunity offered, he should be happy to return the favour; and that if he were obliged to make war on Octavius, he should be glad of Pompey's assistance; or, in case matters were accommodated otherwise, should not neglect his interest in adjusting the treaty.

²⁰ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. Plut. in Antonio.

Octavius being informed of this interview, seized the opportunity which it gave him of raising suspicions against Antony in the minds of the veterans. He published the intelligence he had received of his correspondence with the head of the Pompeian faction, and represented it as a prelude to some scheme for restoring the enemies of the late Cæsar, for re-establishing the ancient possessors of land in Italy, and, consequently, for dispossessing the veterans of the settlements recently made in their favour. By spreading these reports in the army, he took measures to strengthen himself, in case he should find it necessary to refuse his colleague a free admission into any of the ports of Italy.

Soon after the reduction of Perugia, Calenus, who commanded a considerable body of Antony's forces at the foot of the Alps, dying, Octavius repaired to the quarters of those troops, gained them over to his own interest, and, in order to secure their fidelity, made the necessary change of their officers. By these means, after he had supplanted the party of his rival in all the towns which they held in Italy, he now dispossessed them of the Cisalpine Gaul, for which their leader had so long contended against the Senate.

At the arrival of Antony in Greece, Octavius could muster a land force greatly superior to any that could be formed against him, even by the junction of his rival with Ænobarbus and Sextus Pompeius; but he was so much inferior in shipping, that if their fleets should unite, they must be masters of the coast, and prevent all the importations by which Italy was supplied from abroad. To sow the seeds of some jealousy between them, or to counteract the intrigues of Antony with Scribonius Libo and with Sextus Pompeius, he made offers of marriage to Scribonia, the sister of Libo, and aunt of Pompey's wife; and this proposal being favourably received by the brother, he sent Mucia, the mother of Sextus Pompeius, with an honourable retinue, to engage her son likewise to promote the intended alliance.

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alliance. By these means, he hoped to amuse, or to soften, the animosity of that family against himself; or at least, by these appearances of a friendly correspondence with Sextus Pompeius, in his turn, to alarm Antony, and thus to disconcert any plan which his rival, in the prospect of a breach with himself, might have formed for a coalition with the remains of the republican party. This marriage with Scribonia, was the second project of the same kind which Octavius had formed before the age of twenty-four, merely to lull the vigilance, or to blunt the animosity of his antagonists, while he himself continued to pursue his principal object with unremitting attention and ardour.

Antony, in every comparison with Octavius, not only had the advantage of years, but was reckoned the better soldier; and having had the principal share, if not the whole honour of the victory at Philippi, had great authority in the army, and was likely, wherever he appeared, to be favourably received by all the troops who had any where served under his command. These, however, upon his approach to Italy, under various pretences, were sent by his crafty rival into the distant provinces. Lepidus too, although he had hitherto acquiesced in the late partition of the empire, by which he had been stript of his equal share in the power of a Triumvir; yet, as he was suffered to retain the title, and might throw his weight into the scale of either of the other parties, or furnish a pretence for some part of the army to follow him, it was thought proper, on the present occasion, to remove him to a distance. For this purpose, the government of Africa was assigned to him, and he himself, with six legions of doubtful inclinations, was dismissed to take possession of that province.

While Octavius was thus strengthening himself in Italy, or removing every object of distrust from that country, Antony, with a less pacific appearance than he had hitherto preserved, set out from Athens,

Athens, and leaving Fulvia ill at Sicyon, joined at Corcyra his fleet, which had come round the Peloponnesus, and from thence sailed with two hundred galleys for the coast of Italy. He was joined by Enobarbus in his passage, and steered directly for Brundisium. As there was no declared quarrel betwixt himself and Octavius, he expected to be admitted into this port; but being disappointed in this expectation, he landed at some distance from the harbour, and invested or blocked up the town by sea and by land. Having thus committed hostilities, he no longer hesitated in accepting the alliance of Sextus Pompeius against Octavius, and proposed to him to make a descent some where on the opposite coast of Italy, to distract the forces of their common enemy, while he himself continued the siege of Brundisium.

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Sextus Pompeius accordingly, notwithstanding that the marriage of his relation Scribonia with Octavius had taken place, not suffering himself to be imposed upon by this artifice, landed at Thurio, in the bay of Tarentum, made himself master of that place, and of the country from thence to Consentia. He, at the same time, sent Menas, one of his admirals, into Sardinia, who got possession of that island, and gained to his party two legions that were stationed there.

Octavius sent Agrippa to oppose Pompey, while he himself advanced for the relief of Brundisium, but in a manner which confirmed the former suspicions of his personal courage. Being taken ill on the march, he stopped short at Canusium, and suffered Brundisium to fall into the hands of his rival. Agrippa acted with more vigour; pressed upon the enemy who had landed near Tarentum, obliged them to abandon their conquests, and to take refuge in their ships.

After Antony had got possession of Brundisium, it soon appeared that this unprofitable quarrel was equally disagreeable to the armies

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on both sides, and each of the leaders, in order to exculpate himself to the troops, endeavoured to load his antagonist with the blame. Antony complained that, without any offence on his part, the ports of Italy had been shut up against him. Octavius recriminated, by alleging the correspondence of Antony with the Pompeian party, and excused his own conduct, in the order he had given to shut the port of Brundisium, alleging, that this precaution was taken, not against Antony or the troops in his service, but against Ænobarbus, one of the assassins of Cæsar, whom Antony had engaged to make war upon Italy.

In whatever manner these representations were received, as the troops had frequent intercourse, their mutual inclinations to peace became known to each other; and officers, who had access to both their leaders, made formal proposals to effect a reconciliation between them. Antony, to evince his willingness to spare the blood of the legions, dismissed Ænobarbus, under pretence of employing him to execute a commission in Bithynia, and at the same time sent instructions to Sextus Pompeius to withdraw from the coast.

In this disposition of the parties, accounts were received of the death of Fulvia, an event which greatly facilitated the negotiation for peace, as it gave hopes of cementing the alliance of parties by a family connection. It was accordingly proposed, that the sister of Octavius, and the widow of Marcellus, should be married to Antony: and, upon this basis, a treaty was framed, including a new partition of the empire, by which all the East, from the Euphrates to Codropolis on the coast of Illyricum, was assigned to Antony. The West, from thence to the Ocean and the British Channel, was assigned to Octavius. Italy, as the seat of government, and the principal nursery of soldiers for the supply of their armies, was to be equally open to both. Lepidus was suffered to remain in the possession of Africa. Ænobarbus was included in this treaty, and declared

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at peace with the heads of the empire ; but Sextus Pompeius, notwithstanding his late confederacy with Antony, and his newly contracted relation with Octavius²¹, was still to be treated as an enemy. He was to be opposed by Octavius, while the war with the Parthians was supposed sufficient to occupy the forces of Antony.

Upon the conclusion of this treaty, the leaders gave mutual entertainments, and the troops, released from the unprofitable task of making war on each other, returned to the more agreeable occupation of receiving the rewards of their services. They understood, that Antony had gone into Asia to raise the money, which was wanted to pay off their arrears, and to satisfy their claims : they had manifold scores, in which they stated the rewards and gratuities which they had been made to expect on different occasions, and they now became clamorous, in particular, for the sums which had been so liberally promised them before the battle of Philippi. The same violence which they had been taught to employ against the civil government of their country, they were ready at times to turn against their own leaders. They addressed their demands, on the present occasion, chiefly to Antony. From him they required an account of the money he had collected in Asia ; and surrounding him in a mutinous manner, would not have abstained from violence to his person, if they had not been pacified by Octavius, who, having been the instrument of former liberalities, had credit enough with the army to make them acquiesce in the apology which was made for the delay of their payment, and in the fresh assurances, which were now given, that all the promises, which had been formerly made to them, should be faithfully performed.

All discontents for the present being suspended, the legions submitted to be sent into different quarters, and the leaders, with every

²¹ Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 28. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

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appearance of a perfect reconciliation, set out for Rome. They made their entry into the city together, on horseback, and dressed in triumphal robes; they were received by the People, of every rank and condition, with demonstrations of joy, which, under the sense of a deliverance from the prospect of a civil war, that had so recently threatened the inhabitants of Italy, was very general and very sincere.

The pacific appearances, with which the joint sovereigns of the empire made their entry at Rome, were confirmed by the actual marriage of Antony with Octavia; and it was expected, that the late rivals, now become brothers, by this marriage, were to govern for the future with much cordiality and mutual confidence. Antony, to evince the sincerity of this intention on his own part, put Manius, the confidant of his brother and of Fulvia, to death, as being the supposed author of the late tumults in Italy; and probably, the more fully to shew how far he was willing to sacrifice every consideration to his present connection, he betrayed a secret correspondence, which Salvidienus, an officer serving under Octavius, had maintained with himself during the siege of Brundisium. This officer, in consequence of the detection, being condemned for treachery, killed himself²².

Upon the faith of these public renunciations of all partial attachments, Octavius and Antony, in the character of collegiate sovereigns, passed the remainder of the present year, and the whole of the following, at Rome, with great appearance of concord. This circumstance was in some measure ascribed to the discretion of Octavia, who, during the same period, was delivered of a child to Antony, and by the birth of this new relation, gave an additional pledge for the continuance of their union; but, notwithstanding these

²² Livii Epitome, lib. cxxvii.

flattering

flattering appearances, Italy still suffered under the distresses of a war, subsisting with those who were in possession of Sicily and Sardinia.

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Sextus Pompeius, exasperated by the treatment he had received from both parties in the late quarrel and reconciliation, and now possessed of a considerable naval force, blocked up the ports of Italy, and prevented the usual importation of corn. The inhabitants of the towns were reduced to great distress. Those of the metropolis, in particular, became outrageous, and, in contempt of the military force by which they were governed, rose in tumults, pulled down the houses of persons to whom they imputed their sufferings, and even attacked the Triumvirs with reproaches and violence. Having furnished themselves with arms, they resisted the troops that were employed to quell them, and, in their frequent conflicts, covered the streets with the slain.

The Triumvirs were inclined to end these troubles, by urging with vigour the war against Pompey, in order to oblige him to open the seas; but for this purpose, a great reinforcement of shipping was necessary, and a tax was imposed, in order to defray the expence of a fleet. A public burden coming so unseasonably, greatly increased the general discontent. The inhabitants of Rome, although they had suffered themselves to be stript of their political consequence as Roman citizens, still felt the wants of nature, and were provoked by exactions that affected their property: they took courage from the disorders of the times, and ventured to censure an usurpation, which they had not dared to resist. "Italy, the head of the empire," they said, long used to exemption from all taxation, was not only torn by domestic wars, but impoverished by an extortion that was practised to support quarrels, not with foreign enemies, but with Romans, and to gratify the vanity or emulation of fellow-citizens, who exhausted all the strength of the commonwealth, merely to appropriate the government of it to themselves; for this, so many
"respect

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“respectable citizens had been proscribed; for this, sword and famine were still permitted to rage, and the children of the first families of Rome, in order to revenge their personal wrongs, and even to procure their subsistence, were forced to act the part of banditti and of pirates.”

The populace of Rome, instigated by these representations, tore down the proclamation, in which the new tax was imposed; and seeming to recover their former consequence, though now under the government of military force, they became more riotous and dangerous than they had been in the utmost abuse of their civil liberty, and in the height of their democratical power.

It became necessary, on account of the riots, and the growing scarcity of bread, to open a negotiation with Sextus Pompeius, as the speediest means of relief from the present distress. Octavius once more availed himself of the relation he had acquired to the family of Pompey, by his marriage with Scribonia, invited Libo to a visit in Italy, and by his means proposed an interview between the parties, to be held at Puteoli in the bay of Baia.

Sextus Pompeius having agreed to this proposal, came with his fleet upon the coast. Antony and Octavius went to Puteoli by land, attended by many of the principal citizens, and a numerous military escort. In order that the parties might meet in safety, it was proposed, that each should have a separate platform, erected on piles to be driven in the sea, reaching, on the one side, from the shore, on the other, from Pompey's ship, so as to bring the parties sufficiently near to hold their conference, though still with such a space or interval between them, as might mutually secure them from any insult or violence.

These preparations being made, the fleet of Sextus Pompeius ranged itself on the one side, and the land army of the Triumvirs on the other. As the interests of all men were involved in the issue,

expectations were greatly raised. The shores, the cliffs, the high lands were covered with spectators, who gazed on the scene, and anxiously waited for the event. At the first conference, the Triumvirs offered Pompey a safe return to Rome, with an equivalent for his father's estate. He demanded admission into the Triumvirate, instead of Lepidus, who appeared in effect to be already excluded. As they parted without any agreement, a general dissatisfaction appeared among their adherents and followers on both sides. Pompey feared the defection of many who had hitherto followed him; and as he had lately put Murcus, a principal officer of his party, to death, from a jealousy of this sort, he was inclined to believe that many of his party were disposed to accept of any terms, and to treat for themselves.

The distresses of Italy, on the other hand, strongly urged the Triumvirs to make the necessary concessions; and both parties came to a second interview, with better inclinations to adjust their differences. It was accordingly agreed, that Pompey should remain in possession of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corfica; that the Peloponnesus should likewise be ceded to him, and a sum of money be paid in compensation for the losses of his family²³; that all the exiles, now under his protection, except such as were concerned in the death of Cæsar, should be restored to their country, and to a fourth part of their former estates; that the navigation of the seas of Italy should be free, and vessels immediately suffered to pass from Sicily, and all the neighbouring countries, which were accustomed to supply the Italians with corn.

This treaty being ratified, was transmitted to Rome, and committed to the keeping of the Vestal Virgins. Every cause of hostility or distrust between the parties being thus done away, their platforms

²³ 15,500,000 Drach. or Denarii, about 500,000 l. Zonaras, lib. x. p. 283, c. 21.

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were joined by a bridge of planks, and they embraced each other. Those, who were near enough to see this signal of peace, raised a shout, which was returned from the multitudes which crowded the ships and the neighbouring shores. Every one took a part in the joy that was occasioned by the present event, as having suffered under the distresses and hardships which were now brought to an end.

Historians, seeming to feel for those who were concerned in this transaction, have exerted their genius in describing it; and, among other particulars, have recorded, that friends and relations, who had been long separated, being to meet in peace, crowded with great ardour to the strand; that persons who had no such particular motive, being seized with the general contagion, pressed to have a nearer view of the scene; that numbers were suffocated in the crowd; that many from the boats and ships leapt into the sea, and waded or swam to land, and were met from the shore by others who expected to recover their relations and friends; that shouts of joy, or cries of despair, were raised, according as they were severally successful or disappointed in this expectation: that parents and children, disappointed in their hopes of meeting each other, tore their hair, and fell into agonies of grief, the whole exhibiting, though in a supposed termination of public calamities, a lively expression of the distress which the late troubles had occasioned, and striking marks of the wounds which were recently open, and bleeding in the vitals of the commonwealth, and in the bosom of every private house²⁴.

At the close of this scene, the leaders mutually invited each other to a feast. Pompey, by lot, gave the first entertainment on board his ship; he made an apology for the want of accommodation, and playing on the word *Garinæ*, which signified a ship, and likewise was the name of his late father's villa and garden in the suburbs of

²⁴ Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 37. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

Rome, which were occupied by Antony, "This," he said, "is now my *Carina*." While the company were yet on board, Menas, once the slave of the great Pompey, but now emancipated, and the first sea-officer in the fleet of his son, whispered him, that then was the time to revenge the death of his father and of his brother, and to recover the rank of his family, by dispatching these authors of all their calamities. "Let me cut the cable," he said, "and put to sea; I promise you that none of them shall escape." "This might have been done by Menas, without consulting me," said Sextus; "but my faith is sacred, and must not be broken."

The guests accordingly were suffered to depart, without having, in any way, been made sensible of the danger they ran, and they gave entertainments in their turns. At these feasts, additional articles were thought of to confirm the treaty, and to regulate the measures of the future administration. To strengthen the coalition of parties, the daughter of Sextus Pompeius was betrothed to Marcellus, the nephew of Octavius, and now the step-son of Antony. The succession to the Consulate was fixed for four years. Antony and Libo were named Consuls for the first year, Cæsar and Pompey were to follow, next Ænobarbus and Sosius, and last of all Antony and Cæsar. Under the administration of these last, it was supposed that the public order and public tranquillity might be so well restored; for this was the language which the Triumvirs still affected to hold, that the republic would no longer need the interposition of extraordinary powers, and might be left to run its usual course.

Sextus Pompeius set sail for Sicily; the collegiate sovereigns of the empire set out on their return to Rome; and, in their entry to the city, passed through multitudes, who, on the present occasion, gave very sincere demonstrations of joy. The People flattered themselves, that they were now to experience no more of their late distresses—no

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more civil dissensions—no more tearing of the father from his family, to serve in the wars—no more oppression and cruelty from the licentiousness of armies—no more desertion of slaves—no more devastation of their lands—no more interruption of agriculture—no more famine. In the return of exiles, who lately fled from the swords of their fellow-citizens, but who were now restored to the enjoyment of peace and security, they might perceive, it was said, the surest evidence of a general act of oblivion for all offences, and a termination of all party animosities and disputes.

Octavius and Antony, during the remainder of their continuance together at Rome, passed their time in literary amusements, and in the fashionable pastimes of the age, cock-fighting and quail-fighting²⁵. They conducted affairs of State with so much concord and silence, that no public transaction is mentioned, besides the completing of the aqueducts projected by Julius Cæsar, and the celebration of the festivals, which had been vowed for the destruction of those who had conspired against his life²⁶.

²⁵ Plutarch. in Antonio.²⁶ Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 32, 33.

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Alarm of the Parthian Invasion of Syria.—Arrangements of Octavius and Antony.—Departure of the latter, and Residence at Athens.—State of the Commonwealth.—Marriage of Octavius with Livia.—War with Sextus Pompeius.—Actions near the Straits of Messina.—Agrippa succeeds to the Command of Octavius's Fleet.—His Victory at Sea.—Flight of Sextus Pompeius.—Breach between Octavius and Lepidus.

SUCH was the state of affairs at Rome, when the accounts which had been successively received from Syria, made the presence of Antony appear to be necessary in that part of the empire which had been specially committed to his care. His lieutenant Desidius Saxe, in opposing the Parthians under Pacorus and Labienus, had received a defeat, and being unable to brook his misfortune, had killed himself. In consequence of this catastrophe, the province of Syria was over-run by the enemy. Tyre, and all the principal towns on the coast were already in their hands, and the province of Cilicia lay open to their inroads.

Upon this report, Antony sent forward Ventidius, to collect such forces as yet remained in the province of Asia, and to give some present check to the immediate progress of the Parthians, while he himself proposed to follow, and to conduct the war in person. Before his departure, he obtained from the Senate and People the form of an act to confirm all the arrangements which the Triumvirs had made respecting the revenue, or any other department of the State. In concert with his colleague he made up the roll of the Senate, and marked out the succession of Consuls and other titular magistrates for

eight

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eight years. In their choice of persons for these several honours, each was careful to balance the nomination of his rival with an equal number of his own dependants, clients, and persons over whom he had intire influence; and in this competition for power, they named for the offices of State mere aliens, soldiers of fortune, persons who had recently obtained their freedom, or confidential slaves manumitted for this purpose.

These arrangements being made, Antony, attended by his wife Octavia, set out for Athens. Here he learned that the war in Syria was in a great measure at an end; that Pacorus, the son of the king of Parthia, with Labienus, having attacked Ventidius in his camp, were repulsed; that their forces had been afterwards routed in different encounters, and dispersed; that Pacorus himself was killed; that Labienus had fled, in disguise, into Cyprus, was discovered, taken, and put to death; that the Parthians had abandoned all their conquests in Syria and in Palestine, and were hastening to repass the Euphrates.

Antony, upon this termination of a war, which so much alarmed his division of the empire, probably would have been inclined to return into Egypt; but as the presence of Octavia rendered a visit to Cleopatra improper, he determined to take his residence at Athens. From thence he distributed to his officers their several stations and provinces, and disposed of kingdoms on the frontier to princes who solicited his protection: that of Pontus he bestowed on Darius the son of Pharnaces, and grandson of Mithridates; that of the Jews and Samaritans, on Herod; that of Pyfidia, on Amyntas; and that of Cilicia, on Polemon. During the winter he had dropped all the

* One Maximus, being in the nomination station, and, as a punishment due for his pre-
for the office of Quæstor, was claimed and sumption, was thrown from the Tarpeian
adjudged to be a slave; another person of rock. Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 34.
the same condition was discovered in a high * Plut. in Antonio.

retinue of a Roman officer of State, resigned himself to ease, domestic pleasures, and the conversation of the learned *.

In the intervals of relaxation, some species of extravagance and dissipation ever make a part in the history of Antony's life. The reports, however, which remain of his behaviour at Athens, may, in a great measure, be considered as a part of the reproach, which his enemies, to justify their own cause, have thrown upon his memory; and which they have been able, by becoming the victorious party, to fix upon his name for ever. He is said, at some of his entertainments, to have personated Bacchus the young and irresistible conqueror of the world, and to have carried this extravagance so far, that the Athenians were encouraged to pay their court, by proposing a marriage between himself and their goddess Minerva. But to show that he carried some reason in his madness, he accepted the match, under condition that the bride should be accompanied with a suitable portion; and in this jest turned the servility of his flatterers to profit, by exacting ten millions of drachmas *.

But in whatever manner Antony passed his supposed leisure at Athens, Octavius, whose conduct, on most occasions, is a manifest contrast to that of his colleague, did not fail to avail himself of the advantages of his situation in Italy, the supposed head of the empire, and of the bent of the times to monarchy, by uniting, as much as possible, all the channels of influence in his own person.

The concerts of the first Cæsar with Pompey and Crassus, though named a Triumvirate, were the mere effects of a private combination to over-rule the public councils, and to dispose of every preferment, or place of emolument or trust. But the powers now exercised by Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, though extorted by force, had at least the nominal sanction of a legal appointment, and

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. p. 714. * About 300,000 l. Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 39.

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were of the nature of those extraordinary commissions which had been frequently given in every age of the republic, and which were not improperly calculated for any uncommon emergence, or arduous state of affairs. A commission of Triumvirate, in so great an exigency of the State, professedly given to restore its tranquillity, and re-establish public order, if it had been freely granted, was well enough suited to former precedents, and preserved the analogy of Roman forms, inasmuch, that if the People had been less corrupted, the government of the republic might have been easily restored.

The titles of Senate and People, of Consul, Prætor, and other magistrates or officers of State, were still retained, and preserved the appearance of ancient formalities, whether in the legislature, or in the exercise of executive power. The same members which formed the ancient political body were supposed to exist, though much debilitated, and sunk in disease. The Senate consisted of persons willing to submit, or known to favour, the present usurpation: such persons only were now to be found. Those of a different description had fallen in the civil wars, or perished in the late executions and massacres; and if they had still remained, would not have been suffered to take a part in the government of the State by those who, under the title of Triumvirs, had engrossed all its functions. Even the pretended Comitia were no longer those overbearing conventions, in which multitudes assembled in a tumultuary manner, assumed the prerogatives of the Roman People, disposed of elections, or carried their own mandates into execution with irresistible force. This part of the republican constitution was become a mere name, employed to ratify the acts of the Triumvirs, and to confirm their nomination of persons to office. The forms of their meeting, however, as well as those of the Senate, were retained to give a sanction to deeds which might not be supposed of permanent authority,

rity, without the well known initials of the Senate and People of Rome.³ CHAP.
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As the supreme power, and the exercise of every public function, both at Rome and in the provinces, were now vested in his pretended commission, the ordinary offices of State were filled up merely for the sake of form, or rather that there might be an opportunity to oblige particular persons in their advancement to public honours. The titles of Prætorian and Consular rank, retained by those who had filled those offices in the commonwealth, were come to resemble the titles of honour by which the nobles are distinguished in monarchies; and men had, for some time, begun to covet the office, not on account of the power it conferred, but for the sake of the title it was to leave behind, with the persons by whom it had once been possessed.

For this reason the antient denominations of office were not likely to be discontinued at Rome, even upon the establishment of monarchy. The regular term of a year indeed was already no longer annexed to the idea of magistracy. The honour of having been Consul or Prætor for a few months, for a few days, or even for a few hours, gave the precedence that was wished for; and many, as soon as they had taken possession of the office, were removed to make way for others to whom the same favour was intended.

In this manner, during the joint-residence of Octavius and Antony at Rome, Asinius Pollio, and Domitius, holding the Consulate, were made to resign it, in order that two others might be admitted for a few days, of whom one was L. Cornelius Balbus, a native of Gades in Spain, and the first of his family that ever had a place on the rolls of the People as a citizen of Rome. But this new citizen had followed Julius Cæsar, and amassed a considerable fortune in his

³ S. P. Q. R.

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service. To others, the dignity of Prætor and of Edile, vacated on purpose, was transferred for a few hours. These preferments gave no claim, as in the former times of the republic, to the government of provinces; they gave no influence, and scarcely prescribed any function in the city.

In this general abuse of the civil institutions, now reduced to mere titles and forms, the Tribunes of the People, by means of the superstitious regard that was paid to their persons, still retained a part of their consequence; and Octavius, instead of attempting to reduce it, affected to revere this sacred repository of the People's rights, in defence of which Julius Cæsar made war on the Senate; and instead of attempting to remove the defences with which these officers were provided against violence, he procured his own name to be inscribed in their list, and took part in a sacred character which he could not destroy; in this, as in many other particulars, discovering an admirable discernment of the means that were necessary to palliate a recent usurpation; and seeming to profit by the experience of his late uncle, who, after he had overcome every serious resistance, fell a sacrifice to trifles, and to the security and ostentation with which he assumed the state of a monarch.

About this time is dated a considerable alteration made in the Roman law, by the addition of a rule respecting the effect of last wills. This rule is ascribed to Falcidius*, one of the colleagues of Octavius in the college of Tribunes. Hitherto Roman citizens were free to bequeath their fortunes at pleasure, and to divide them in any proportion among their friends or acquaintance, whether relations or strangers; and property held a course in its passage, by succession, from one generation to another, which excluded no person whatever from the hopes of inheritance, provided he could obtain the regard of

* Lex Falcidia.

his fellow-citizens. As it was the practice of every testator, even when he had no motive for disinheriting his nearest relations, to give some testimony in his will to the merit of every friend who survived him, it was reckoned an honour to be mentioned in many wills, and persons who had not the ordinary opportunities to amass fortunes, either in the government of provinces, or in the farm of the revenues, might nevertheless become rich by an extensive and well-supported course of good offices in the city. This practice is possibly less suited to monarchy, than it is to republics, and least of all to despotical governments, where the master wishes to leave no will independent of his own. He can awe the living, but the dying escape from his influence. This feeling perhaps already began to take place in the minds of the rulers at Rome, and in the minds of those who courted their favour; and it may have suggested the law of Falcidius, by which testators were suffered to dispose, by will, of no more than three-fourths of their effects; the other fourth was assigned to the heir at law.

While Antony yet resided at Athens, Octavius passed into Gaul on a progress to review his armies, and to make the proper disposition of his force in the provinces; and it began to appear, that the late treaty, which had been concluded with Sextus Pompeius, was no more than a temporary expedient to procure relief to the inhabitants of Italy from the distresses with which they had been lately afflicted. The articles were never fully performed by either party. The family alliance, which Octavius had contracted with Sextus Pompeius in his marriage with Scribonia, by whom he had issue, a daughter afterwards so famous by the name of Julia, was likewise, about this time, broke off to make way for his marriage with Livia, a name already mentioned, and to be often repeated in the subsequent parts of this history.

U. C. 715.
Ap. Claudius
Pulcher, and
C. Norbanus
Flaccus.

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Marriage had hitherto appeared to Octavius merely as the means of obtaining some political end; and he had already, in difficult transactions, twice availed himself of this expedient, although it is remarked by historians, as an evidence of his youth, that, until his marriage with Livia, his beard was not sufficiently grown to need the use of the razor. In this alliance, however, he seems to have had a different object; and was so far from being led by utility alone, that he not only overlooked the want of it, but likewise got over many other difficulties which stood in his way.

Livia Drusilla was the daughter of Livius Drusus, a citizen who had been in open enmity with Octavius and his party; and who, in despair, after the battle of Philippi, with other adherents of the republic, had fallen by his own hands. The daughter had been married to Tiberius Claudius Nero, who also was a declared enemy of the Cæsarean faction; and who, in the late contest of parties in Italy, put himself at the head of the ejected land-holders of Campania, joined Lucius Antonius, and, as has been mentioned on the reduction of Perugia, fled with his family into Sicily, where he took refuge with Sextus Pompeius. Being included in the treaty of reconciliation which was framed at Baiæ, he returned to Rome. His wife had already born him a son, afterwards well known by the name of Tiberius, and was again with child, and six months gone in her pregnancy, when it was proposed, that she should part from her present husband, and bring forth the child, of whom she was then pregnant, in the embraces of Cæsar. The priests being consulted on the legality of this marriage, desired to know, whether the pregnancy of Livia was well ascertained; and being informed that it was certain, made answer, That as there could arise no doubt concerning the parentage of her offspring, her separation from Tiberius Claudius, and her marriage with Octavius, were lawful.

The

The change which now took place in the family of Octavius, by his repudiating Scribonia, was considered as the prelude to a war with Sextus Pompeius. Many articles of the late treaty had never been carried into execution. The Peloponnesus, under pretence of the time which was necessary to recover some arrears that were said to be due to Antony in that province, had not, according to agreement, been delivered to Pompey. In justification of other infractions of the treaty, it was urged against him, that, contrary to the faith he had given, he continued to augment his fleet, and suffered his cruizers to commit depredations on the traders of Italy. Some pirates being taken, and threatened with the torture, alleged, in their own vindication, that they acted under his orders. The confessions of these men being published, with complaints and remonstrances; an altercation ensued that was likely to end in hostilities and open war.

After these complaints had become mutual between Octavius and Sextus Pompeius, the rupture was hastened by the defection of Menas, one of Pompey's officers, the same person who proposed to carry off Antony and Octavius, by cutting the cable while they were at dinner on board his master's ship. This officer, being intrusted with the command of a fleet in the ports of Sardinia, upon some disgust to his master, entered into a correspondence with Octavius, made offer of his service, and proposed to surrender the island. This act of perfidy became known only by the acceptance and execution of the offer. Octavius obtained the possession of Sardinia, and received Menas with sixty galleys into his service, rewarded his treachery by employing him in the same rank which he possessed under Sextus Pompeius, and by conferring upon him the gold ring, the well known badge of nobility at Rome.

² Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 45. Orosius, Appian, &c.

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As this transaction took place while the treaty was yet supposed to be in force, Pompey demanded that the traitor should be delivered up to him, and the island of Sardinia restored; but was answered, that he himself had been the aggressor, in giving refuge to deserters and fugitive slaves.

Pompey, on receiving this answer, proceeded to immediate hostilities*. He sent Menecrates, who succeeded Menas in the chief command of his fleet, to the coast of Campania, with orders to make reprisals, and to plunder Vulturnus, and some other places of that neighbourhood.

Octavius, on his part, had been some time endeavouring to supply his want of shipping, had built some vessels in the ports of Italy, which, with the addition of those he received by the desertion of Menas, put him in condition to enter on the war with advantage. He had ordered his equipments at two separate stations; the one at Tarentum, the other on the coast of Etruria; and, being now to make war on Sicily, he proposed to bring his naval forces together at Rhegium, in the straits of Messina. Thither he likewise directed a powerful land army to march, in order to invade the island, and to begin the war, by expelling Pompey from the principal seat of his power. He himself came round to Rhegium with that division of his fleet which had been fitted out at Tarentum. Calvisius commanded the other division, and made sail from the coast of Etruria to the same place.

Sextus Pompeius, having notice of this disposition that was made to attack him, likewise divided his forces. He himself took post at Messina to observe Octavius, and sent Menecrates to intercept Calvisius, and to prevent the junction of their fleets.

* Zonaras, lib. x. c. 23.

Menecrates accordingly came in sight of his enemy in the evening of the same day, lay that night under the island Ænaria, while Calvisius came to anchor near Cumæ. Next morning, at break of day, both fleets got under sail; but Calvisius, having orders to bring his division safe to the general rendezvous at Rhegium, was desirous to avoid an engagement, and kept under the land. Menecrates, steering the same course, kept abreast of the enemy, till perceiving their design to avoid him, by lying close to the shore, he too stood in with the land to attack them.

Calvisius, finding an action unavoidable, and thinking himself inferior in the skill of his mariners, determined to bring his ships to anchor under the land, where they could not be surrounded, and where his men, if attacked, having smooth water, might use their swords as on solid ground; and he accordingly formed a line close to the shore, turning the prow and the beak of his ships to the sea.

In this position the squadron of Octavius received the shock of the enemy, and on the right, where Calvisius himself commanded, made a good defence, but in the centre, many of the ships were forced from their anchors, and stranded, or burnt. Menecrates, in coming to engage, distinguished the galley of Menas, his antient rival, and the traitor to their common master; bore down upon him, and, in the shock, broke away the beak of his galley; but, in passing along his side, as the vessel brushed, lost all the oars of his own ship. They afterwards grappled, and fought till both the commanders were wounded; and Menecrates, finding himself disabled, and in danger of being taken, went headlong into the sea. His galley instantly struck, and was towed off by the enemy. This event, although the advantage was otherwise greatly on the side of Pompey, dispirited the whole squadron; and Demochares, who succeeded Menecrates in the command of Pompey's fleet, neglecting the advantage he might have reaped from the situation and loss of the enemy, withdrew to the

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the island Ænaria, and from thence, on the following day, set sail for Sicily. Calvifius, having endeavoured to repair his damage, continued his voyage, under the land, towards Rhegium.

Octavius, at the same time, not knowing of this action, but being impatient to effect the junction of his fleets, made sail from Rhegium, and stood to the northward through the Straits. When the greater part of the fleet had passed the port of Messina, he was observed by Sextus Pompeius, who put to sea, and attacked his rear. He nevertheless continued on his way through the gut, and would have declined an action, if it could have been avoided; but finding himself in danger of suffering an absolute defeat from the enemy, who, taking advantage of his course, pressed on his rear is an actual flight, he made a signal to halt; and from the same motives which determined Calvifius to form under the land, making a like disposition, he hoped, that, by being at anchor, his men might engage on equal terms with an enemy who were greatly superior in the management of their ships. In the event, however, he was much more unfortunate than Calvifius, and had great part of his fleet either stranded or burnt. He himself, while his ships were still engaged, left Cornificius to continue the fight, got on shore, and with a number of men, who had escaped from the wrecks, took refuge on the neighbouring hills.

At the approach of night, the lieutenant of Octavius, while the enemy still pressed upon him, seeing the danger of having all his ships forced on shore before morning, made a signal for the remains of the squadron to cut their cables, and stand out to sea. In making this movement, his own galley grappled with that of Demochares, and having disabled her, obliged the commander to move into another ship. At this instant the other division of Octavius's fleet, commanded by Calvifius, appeared to the northward; being seen first from the enemy's fleet, occasioned a sudden pause in the action.

Pompey, believing this to be a fresh enemy, whom, after so much loss and fatigue, he was not in condition to engage, took his resolution, to the great surprise of the Squadron he had vanquished, to relinquish his prey, and retire to Messina. C H A P.
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Cornificius again came to anchor in the place of action, and being joined by Calvisius, passed the night in taking an account of his damage, in saving such ships as could be got off, or in removing the baggage and stores from such as were ashore. Octavius, at the same time, made fires on the hills to assemble the stragglers who had escaped from the wrecks, of whom many were found without arms or necessaries of any sort.

Towards morning, a gale of wind arose from the south, and rolled a great sea through the straits. It continued to blow all day and the following night; during which time, Menas, being an experienced mariner, had not only originally come to an anchor with his division, as far as he could from the land, but continued all night to ease his anchors, by plying against the wind with his oars. Of the rest of the fleet, such ships as were near the land having drove in the night, many perished on the rocks. At break of day the wind abated; but, from the effects of the storm which had blown in the night, the strand was covered with dead bodies, and with the fragments of ships. The vessels that were still afloat, being about one half of the fleet, having stopped for a little time to save as many as they could from the wrecks, set sail in a very shattered condition for Vibo. Here they arrived without any molestation from the enemy, who were contented to have remained in safety at Messina. Octavius himself having beheld the wreck of so many of his ships, took the route of Campania by land, and made the necessary dispositions to frustrate any attempts which Pompey might make on the coast.

The summer having been spent in these undecisive operations, both parties prepared for a vigorous renewal of the contest in the following

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U. C. 716.

M. Agrippa,

L. Caminius

Gallus,

T. Statilius.

spring. Pompey himself continued to alarm the coast of Italy during the winter, and sent Apollophanes, one of his officers, to make a descent upon Africa. Octavius gave orders to repair the loss of his ships, and to recruit his land-forces. He had recourse to the assistance of Antony, who had hitherto expressed a dislike to the war, and was probably jealous of the accessions of power which Octavius was likely to gain by the destruction of Sextus Pompeius.

Antony however, upon this requisition from his colleague, set sail from Greece, and appeared at Tarentum with a fleet of three hundred ships, though still undetermined, it is supposed, which side he should take in the present contest. But Octavia, who had accompanied her husband to Tarentum, had the address to turn the scale in favour of her brother. She undertook to be the mediator of their differences, went on shore, and procured an amicable interview between them. At this meeting they made an exchange of sea and land forces. Antony gave to Octavius a hundred and twenty ships, and had in return twenty thousand legionary soldiers. To confirm the removal of all their suspicions, Julia, the infant daughter of Octavius by Scribonia, was, on this occasion, betrothed to Antyllis, one of the sons of Antony by Fulvia; and a daughter of Antony was betrothed to Domitius. These schemes of alliance, projected in the infancy of the parties, never took effect, but were among the artifices with which the parents endeavoured to amuse each other.

Octavius and Antony now agreed, with very little hesitation, that Pompey had forfeited the Consulate, the priesthood, and all the other advantages which had been yielded in his favour by the late treaty; and they made new arrangements respecting the succession to office, in behalf of themselves and their friends. The principal object in these arrangements was the gratifying their adherents with titles of rank. In the preceding year, no less than sixty-seven persons had passed through the office of Prætor. This dignity, as well as that of Consul,

was

was frequently, for the sake of the title, taken up and resigned in the same day. The office of *Ædile*, which used to be of so much consequence under the republic, as it gave an opportunity to court the favour of the People with entertainments and shows, being now of no value on this account, and being the lowest in rank, though still expensive, was generally declined.⁹

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VI.

The period for which the pretended commission of the *Triumvirs* had been granted by the Roman Senate and People being now about to expire, Octavius and Antony, without having recourse to the same form, resumed the exercise of their power for five years longer. And having, in appearance, amicably settled the several points in dispute between themselves, they separated in pursuit of their respective objects; Octavius being intent on the war with *Sex-tus Pompeius*, and Antony on that with the *Parthians*. But, to the great danger of their future agreement, the last was no longer attended by Octavia, who had hitherto served as a bond of union between them, and had checked the jealousies and extravagancies of her husband. She had born him a child, was again pregnant, and being unable to attend him in the dangers to which he was likely to be exposed in the *Parthian* war, chose to remain in Italy, and to fix her residence at Rome.¹⁰

In the prospect of the approaching campaign, Agrippa was recalled from Gaul, where he had been employed by Octavius in the preceding summer, and during the miscarriages on the coast of Italy. This officer, although of mean extraction, rose to the highest honours which could, in this state of his country, be attained by a citizen. As he was not born to the dignity and pretensions of a Roman Senator, he cannot be accused, with others, of having betrayed that character; but coming forward amidst the ruins of the

⁹ Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 43—53.

¹⁰ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 46, &c.

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republic, and after the extinction of those virtues which were necessary to its preservation, he was the first person who understood and possessed the habits and accomplishments which are required in support of a monarchy; submission without servility or baseness, application, fidelity, and courage; estimating honours by his nearness to his prince, and merit by the degree in which he could promote his service". He had in the preceding summer obtained some victories on the Rhine, and was the first Roman, after Julius Cæsar, who had passed that barrier of the German nations. Upon his arrival at Rome he might have had a triumph on account of these services; but preferring the respect that was due to his master, to the sense of his own personal consequence, he said, that it did not become him to triumph while the affairs of Cæsar were not in prosperity.

Agrippa was by his genius qualified for the execution of magnificent works, as well as for the steady and able conduct of military operations. Observing, that the disasters of the preceding year were to be imputed, in some measure, to the want of harbours and proper retreats for shipping on the western coast of Italy, he made it his first object to supply this defect, by opening a communication from the sea to the lakes of Cumæ, which were spacious basons, and when thus rendered accessible by navigable entries, might furnish every conveniency for the reception and construction of fleets. In describing the masonry which was necessary in the formation of these communications, mention is made of the peculiar advantage derived from the use of burnt earth taken from the neighbouring mountains; and which being used for sand in the composition of mortar, made an excellent cement for buildings that were to remain under water¹².

¹¹ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 79.

¹² Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 48, 49, 50, 51, 52.

While the summer passed in the execution of these works, and in the equipment of a proper fleet to encounter that of Pompey, Menas, repenting of his late desertion, entered into a correspondence with his former master; and being assured of pardon, withdrew with seven ships from the fleet of Octavius, then under the command of Calvisius, and returned to his former service. Octavius took this occasion to supersede Calvisius, upon an imputation of neglect, and appointed Agrippa to succeed him in the conduct of the war.

About a year was spent in the equipment of ships and in training the mariners, which, for the convenience of harbours and docks, was executed as before, at two separate stations; one at Tarentum, under Statilius Taurus, where the ships which had been furnished by Antony still remained; the other in the new harbour at Puteoli, under Agrippa.

U. C. 717.
L. Gellius
Poplicola,
L. Munatius
Plancus,
M. Cocceius
Nerva, P.
Sulpicius
Querianus.

Lepidus, to second the operations of Octavius, had assembled his forces on the coast of Africa, and it was concerted that Sicily should be invaded in three places at once; at Lilybæum, the nearest part to Africa, by Lepidus; at Mylæ, on the northern side of the island, by Agrippa; and at Taurominium, on the eastern coast, by Statilius Taurus. It was projected that the armaments equipped for these different services, should be at their places of destination as nearly as possible about the first of July.

While these preparations were making, Octavius, residing chiefly at Tarentum or at Cumæ, left the administration of civil affairs at Rome in the hands of Mæcenas, who, though not vested with any office of magistracy, or any other public character besides that of a person in the confidence of his master, possessed a supreme authority. Octavius himself, when the plan of the war was ripe for execution, joined that division of his forces which was led by Agrippa, and sailed from Puteoli at the appointed time; but after he had crossed the bay of Baiæ, to the promontory of Minerva, he met with a storm, by which

many

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many of his ships were damaged, and forced to put back into the port he had left.

This accident was likely to disconcert the operations of the campaign, or to delay the invasion of Sicily for another season. But the complaints of the people of Italy, suffering under the obstruction that was given by Pompey to the importation of corn, required an immediate relief. Some of the projected operations of the campaign were already begun, and required to be supported. Lepidus had sailed with the first division of his army, and had landed in the neighbourhood of Lilybaeum, and Statilius Taurus had advanced from Tarentum to Leucopetrae, opposite to Taurominium, the place at which he was ordered to make his descent. Urged by these considerations, Octavius, with such repairs as he could accomplish, in about thirty days after he had been put back into port, again put to sea. At Strougylé he learnt that Pompey, with the greater part of his fleet, lay off Mylæ to guard that access to the island. Thinking this, therefore, a favourable opportunity to push his other attack from Leucopetrae to Taurominium, he himself returned to the coast of Italy, landed at Vibo, went from thence by land to Leucopetrae, and put the squadron from that place in motion for their intended descent on Sicily.

While Octavius was thus employed at the other extremity of the Straits, Agrippa had come to an action with Pompey's fleet off the harbour of Mylæ, and obliged them to put back into port with the loss of thirty ships¹¹. This circumstance still farther confirmed Octavius in his intention to pass with his army into Sicily; and he accordingly, without meeting with any obstruction, arrived at Taurominium, and landed his forces.

Sextus Pompeius, in the mean time, having had intimation of this design, soon after the action at Mylæ, had withdrawn in the

¹¹ Orosius, lib. vi. p. 266.

night to Messina; and having put fresh men on board his ships, steered for Taurominium, and came in sight of the harbour soon after the enemy had disembarked. By the unexpected appearance of a fleet much superior to his own, Octavius was greatly alarmed; and leaving the command of the forces he had just landed, to Cornificius, he ordered his ships to slip their cables, and make what sail they could to recover the harbour of Leucopetræ. He himself went on board a small pinnace, in order the better to escape the pursuit of the enemy, and with a very few attendants landed in a creek on the coast of Italy. His ships were dispersed, part taken, and many stranded on the opposite shores; but he himself made his way in the night to Leucopetræ, where a division of the army, under Messala, waited for the return of the ships in which they were to follow the former embarkation.

Octavius, without being disconcerted by this disaster, or by a consciousness of the part which he himself had acted, and which served to confirm all the former imputations of cowardice, without loss of time sent immediate dispatches to all the stations of his troops, to intimate his safe arrival in the camp of Messala. Before he shifted his wet clothes, or took any food, he made all the necessary arrangements; sent a pinnace to Cornificius, whom he had left in the command of the army in Sicily, with orders to defend himself to the last extremity; and another to Agrippa, with instructions to move as soon as he could, by sea or by land, to his relief. And he ordered Carinas, who with three legions lay embarked at Vibo, to sail without loss of time, and to join Agrippa at Liparé.

While Pompey passed with his fleet along the coast from Messina to Taurominium, he had ordered a great body of horse on the shore to keep pace, as nearly as possible, with the motion of his ships; and as they approached to Taurominium, while he himself should block up the harbour, to lay waste the country, or to restrain the foraging parties of the enemy.

Cornificius,

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Cornificius, whom Octavius had left in the command of his forces at this place, finding himself in danger of being surrounded, took his resolution to depart from the coast, and, if possible, to join Agrippa, who, he had reason to believe, might by this time have effected his landing at Mylæ, on the opposite side of the island. He accordingly endeavoured to convey intelligence of his design, and requested Agrippa to come forward to meet him with a proper force, and with the necessary supplies, to give relief to his army, and to favour his junction.

The route by which Cornificius was most likely to avoid Pompey's stations, led by the skirts of Mount Ætna, and over barren tracts that were still covered, instead of soil, with pumice and lava, which had been discharged from the mountain, and which were not any where supplied with vegetation or water. His way over this species of soil lay through difficult passes, occupied by the natives, who either harassed his rear, or disputed his passage in front. But after having undergone great labour and distress, and having lost a considerable part of his army by fatigue and famine, he was met by Laronius, with a reinforcement of troops and supply of provisions from Agrippa; and, upon the appearance of this relief, was suffered by the enemy to continue the remainder of his march undisturbed.

Thus the two separate divisions of the army of Octavius, with which he intended at once to have attacked the opposite sides of the island, were assembled together on the northern coast. Hither he himself soon after repaired, and began his operations by land at the head of twenty-one legions, twenty thousand horse, and above five thousand light or irregular infantry.

Pompey was yet strong in the neighbourhood of Messina, or in that angle of the island which pointed towards Italy. The ground being rugged and mountainous in the interior parts, forming a ridge from Mount Ætna to the head of Pelorus, his quarters were accessible only,

only, or chiefly, by the roads on the coast, leading from Mylæ on the one hand, and from Taurominium on the other, to Messina. Of these communications he was still master, by means of the fortresses which he possessed at Mylæ, and at Taurominium. As he supposed that Lepidus, from the side of Africa, would attempt to cooperate with the forces of Octavius from Italy, he had stationed at Lilybæum a part of his fleet, and a considerable body of troops, commanded by Plennius, to oppose the descent and advances of the enemy on that quarter. The officer who had charge of his fleet on this station, had suffered the first embarkation of Lepidus to escape and to effect their landing; but being so fortunate as to intercept the second, he in a great measure disconcerted the intended operation on that side.

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Lepidus, with that part of the army he had landed in Sicily, remained inactive in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum, until having accounts that Octavius was arrived in the island, had united the different divisions of his army at Mylæ, and had obliged Sextus Pompeius to collect all his force in the neighbourhood of Messina, he supposed that the country from thence might be open to him; and he accordingly, notwithstanding that Plennius, with a considerable body of Pompey's forces, remained behind him at Lilybæum, marched from one end of the island to the other; and having effected his junction with Octavius, they determined to press upon Pompey at once with their united forces both by sea and by land.

In execution of this plan, Agrippa made a feint to land at the head of Pelorus; and having drawn the attention of the enemy to that quarter, favoured the design of Octavius, who, in the mean time, surprised and took the fortress of Mylæ. The combined army having gained this important advantage, continued to press upon Pompey, made movements which threatened to invest Messina, and to cut off the communications of his fleet and army with

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the country in the neighbourhood of that city. In order to avoid these inconveniences, Pompey found himself under a necessity to hazard a battle either by sea or by land, or wherever his antagonists presented an opportunity the most likely to procure him relief. He himself relied chiefly on his naval force; and accordingly, without seeking for any advantage of situation or surprize, presented himself to the enemy near to Naulochus, between the promontories of Mylæ and Pelorus, and was there met by Agrippa.

The fleets which were now to engage, consisted of about three hundred ships on each side. When formed in order of battle, their lines were nearly of equal extent. The construction of ships was the same, and they advanced deliberately on smooth water, without any circumstance that appeared to prognosticate the victory on either side. The armies, at the same time, were drawn upon the shore, and in sight of the scene which was to be acted before them. After an obstinate fight, in which the fleet of Pompey already suffered considerably, seventeen of his ships at once withdrew from the action, and stood away for the Straits of Messina. Those that were nearest the land ran upon the shore, and were wrecked or taken; the remainder being farther at sea, and cut off from their own harbours, struck, and delivered themselves up to the enemy.

The progress of the action at sea was accompanied from the land with shouts and acclamations on the one side, and with silent affliction, or with cries of despair, on the other. Twenty-eight ships of Pompey's fleet were sunk; above two hundred and fifty, being the whole that remained besides the seventeen that fled to Messina, were stranded, taken, or burnt²⁴. Octavius lost only three ships.

Pompey perceiving the extent of his calamity, was seized with despair; and, without having given any orders in camp, made haste to

²⁴ Orosius, lib. vi. c. 18.

Messina. The army he had left in the field, seeing themselves deserted by their leader, went over to the enemy. He himself, at Messina, made a feint of mustering his forces as for an obstinate defence. He called in all the ships that any where remained on the coast, and all the forces that could be found on the island¹². But, in the midst of these pretended arrangements for a vigorous resistance, he had taken a resolution to depart from Sicily; and having a vessel prepared for his reception, accordingly embarked, with his daughter, and a few persons whom he had chosen to attend him in his flight.

As soon as the vessel, on board of which it was known Pompey had embarked, appeared under sail, all the ships which were then in the harbour put to sea, with intention to follow the same course; but without receiving any orders or intimation of a place at which to re-assemble, in case of separation. The unfortunate leader observing, among the ships that followed him, some that were commanded by officers in whom, in the present state of his fortunes, he could not confide, wished to separate from them, and gave out that he meant to avoid the coasts; and, in order to deceive them in the night, extinguishing his lights, rowed close to the shore of Italy, and turning round the head-lands till he was opposite to Corcyra, he stood over for that island, from thence to Cephalonia, and last of all to Lesbos, where he landed at Mytilené, a place at which he had resided with his mother Cornelia, during the campaign between his father and the first Cæsar in Thessaly, and from whence he had been carried about twelve years before this date, to witness the catastrophe of his father's fortunes on the coast of Egypt. At Mytilené, notwithstanding the memory of these discouraging circumstances, and the low state of his own affairs, he met with a hospitable reception, and passed the winter in humble

¹² Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

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expectation of protection from Antony, to whose generosity he intended to commit himself.

Octavius, in the mean time, suspecting that Pompey must have taken refuge in some part of the provinces which were in the jurisdiction of his colleague, was cautious not to awaken his jealousy by presuming to violate his sanctuary, or by pretending to anticipate the resolutions he might be inclined to take on the subject of this suppliant²⁶.

After the head of the Pompeian party had made so wretched an exit from Sicily, Plennius, who, soon after the departure of Lepidus from the neighbourhood of Lilybæum, had set out with six legions to join his commander, and who had come too late to be comprehended in the surrender of the army at Naulochus, threw himself into Messina, more with an intention to obtain favourable terms for the troops under his command, than with any hopes to retrieve the affairs of his master.

At this time Lepidus being near to Messina, while Octavius still remained at Naulochus, invested the place, and, without consulting his colleague, granted the terms which were asked by Plennius, took possession of the town, and incorporated the troops that had served under that officer with his own army. In concluding this treaty, and in taking the advantage of it to strengthen himself, without the concurrence or participation of Cæsar, he had earnest remonstrances made to him by Agrippa, who had come with his victorious fleet to Messina; but it soon after appeared that Lepidus not only thought himself intitled to decide in that instance, but, upon the accession of strength which he now gained, began to form much higher pretensions. He now reckoned under his own standard twenty-two legions, with a numerous body of horse, and proposed not only to

²⁶ Dio. Cass. lib. xlix. c. 18.

keep possession of Messina, but to claim the whole island of Sicily as an appendage of his province in Africa. He accordingly sent detachments to secure the principal towns.

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Octavius, already provoked at the precipitation with which Lepidus had granted a capitulation to the troops at Messina, without his concurrence, loudly complained of the measures which he took to appropriate the island of Sicily to himself, without the consent of his associates in the empire; alleged that he had been called thither as a mere auxiliary, and had borne no part of the expence incurred in the war. Lepidus, on his part, complained of the injustice which had already been done to him in withholding Spain, his original lot in the partition of the provinces; and said, if it were supposed that Africa and Sicily were more than an equivalent for Spain, he was willing to surrender them both in exchange for that province.

This dispute being likely to end in a serious quarrel, the ordinary intercourse between the two camps was discontinued, and precautions were taken by their respective officers, as in the presence of an enemy. Both armies saw with dislike the symptoms of an open rupture and of a fresh war, in which soldiers, without any prospect of advantage, even to the victors, were mutually to imbrue their hands in blood, to decide a question of mere jealousy or emulation between their leaders.

In comparing the character and prospects of the chiefs to be engaged in this quarrel, the preference, in the esteem of both armies, was certainly due to Octavius. To his possession of Spain and the two Gauls, he joined that of Italy, with the metropolis, or seat of the empire. He bore the name of Cæsar, and was at the head of that formidable military power, which had broken the force of the republic, and extinguished the authority of the Senate. By his means

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means the retainers of Cæsar had obtained the preferable lots in the late distribution of settlements and military rewards.

Lepidus, on the contrary, without any party attached to his person, and without any high reputation, had been placed in the command of armies by the appointment or sufferance of others. The origin of his merit with Julius Cæsar, which consisted in prostituting the dignity of Prætor to his first usurpations in the city, was an act of baseness. His place from thenceforward, in the military arrangements which ensued, was matter of course, or due merely to his rank, without any regard to abilities or merit. His being admitted as a third in the present division of the sovereignty, proceeded solely from the mutual jealousies of the other two, who wished for a person to witness their transactions, and to hold some species of balance between them. In the choice which they made of Lepidus, his want of any pretensions, that could interfere with either in the design which they severally entertained of possessing the empire, was a principal commendation.

In this comparison, Octavius was conscious of a superiority, in the opinion even of the troops who were enlisted to serve under the command of his rival. He accordingly thought this a favourable opportunity, while Antony was at a distance, and no enemy existing, either in Sicily or Italy, to avail himself of the weakness and incapacity of Lepidus, to strip him of his share in the empire, and to seize upon the province of Africa, and the army now in Sicily, as an accession to his own strength. For this purpose he employed proper agents in the camp of Lepidus, gained many of his principal officers by presents, and by the expectation of greater rewards. Having much contempt for the character of their leader, and thinking the way sufficiently prepared for an open declaration, he presented himself with a party of horse in the front of their camp, entered with a few attendants,

as into the midst of his own army; and mounting an eminence, from which he might be heard by the crowds that assembled around him, he complained of the steps which had been taken by their general toward a rupture between the two armies, and expressed his sincere desire that all differences might be removed, without engaging in new scenes of blood so many valiant men who had deserved so well of their leaders.

It appears that numbers of officers and soldiers in the camp of Lepidus were prepared for the part they were to act on this occasion; they applauded the concern which Octavius expressed for the armies, and declared themselves willing to obey his commands. Others, though not in the concert, followed this example, ran to their arms, and hastened to present Octavius with their colours, in token that they received him as their general.

Lepidus, to whom this visit and its consequences were altogether unexpected, being roused by such an alarm, ran forth to the streets of the camp, founded to arms; and, as many of the troops from mere habit obeyed his command, without considering who was their enemy, attacked Octavius, obliged him to repass through the gate at which he had entered, and to place himself under cover of the cavalry, who were waiting to receive him, and whose protection was now necessary to conduct him in safety to his own camp.

In this manner the design of Octavius, on the point of being executed, appeared to be defeated. But his declaration had made too deep an impression to be so slightly removed. The doubts which it raised, and the choice now to be made of a leader, was generally decided in favour of Cæsar. The effect of this decision accordingly appeared in a great desertion from the camp of Lepidus, either then, or during the subsequent night. The legions, lately come over from the service of Sextus Pompeius, beginning to leave him in a body, he threw himself, with the usual guards of his person, in the way to
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stop them. But finding that the very body with which he expected to prevent this desertion joined those who were going over to the enemy, he mixed intreaties and threats, laid hold of an ensign-staff, and attempted by force to stop the officer that was carrying it to his rival. "*Dead or alive,*" said the bearer, "*you shall quit your bold.*" The cavalry at the same time mounted their horses, and, without leaving their ground, sent a message to Octavius, desiring to know, whether he chose that Lepidus should be secured or put to death? Having for answer, that Octavius had no design upon the life of their general, they moved away without any farther notice of him.

Lepidus, seeing the desertion of his army complete, and having no longer any friends or retinue to attend his person, laid aside his imperial robes, and, in the ordinary dress of a citizen, walked towards the camp and the tent of his rival. Multitudes followed him, to gratify their curiosity, in seeing what was to pass in so new a scene. A person who, the moment before, had been at the head of a great army, and reputed a third in the sovereignty of the empire, was now, by the sudden desertion of his own troops, reduced to the condition of a private man, and was to appear as a suppliant before an antagonist whom he had recently set at defiance. To complete the scene of his humiliation, in entering the presence of Octavius, he would have thrown himself on the ground, but was prevented by the courtesy of his rival, who, content to strip him of his command, and of his personal consequence, would not accept this mark of abasement, and gave him leave to return into Italy, where he lived afterwards equally unobserved by those against whom he had been made the instrument of injustice, and by those who had made him their tool.

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Forces of Octavius after the Acquisition of Sicily, and the Junction of the Armies of Sextus Pompeius and Lepidus.—Mutiny and Separation of these Forces.—Arrival of Octavius at Rome.—His Reform of the Army.—Expedition of Antony against the Parthians.—His Retreat.—The Death of Sextus Pompeius.—Open Breach between Octavius and Antony.—Progress of Antony and Cleopatra towards Greece.—Operations of Antony and Octavius on the Gulph of Ambracia.—Battle of Actium.—Flight of Antony.—Immediate Arrangements of Octavius after his Victory.—Death of Antony—And of Cleopatra.

IN consequence of the events which had taken place in Sicily, Octavius found himself at once at the conclusion of a hazardous war, and master of all the forces which had been employed in it, whether as friends or as enemies. His fleet now consisted of near six hundred galleys with store-ships and transports; his land army of forty-five legions, which, though supposed to be incomplete, may have amounted to above two hundred thousand men. To these he joined above fifteen thousand horse and twenty thousand irregular infantry. They had been levied for different masters and in different parts of the empire, were persons of different descriptions; originally slaves, as well as freemen; natives of Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa, mixed with Italians and Roman citizens; adherents of Cæsar and of Pompey, of Antony, of Octavius or Lepidus. It was very difficult to dispose of an assemblage consisting of such various and discordant parts. The troops that came over from Sextus Pompeius or Lepidus were to be retained by indulgence and favours,

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and those who had been the original support of Cæsar's fortunes had peculiar merits; all were sensible of their own consequence, and even of a power to dispose of the empire.

Octavius saw the necessity of separating such an army into different quarters before any cabals should be formed, and before any mutinous spirits had leisure to work on their minds, or to fill them with dangerous hopes or pretensions. That they might part in good humour, he made a distribution of some money, in token of his gratitude for recent services; and promised a great deal more. But what he now gave appeared to be contemptible, when compared with the reward which had been formerly given at Mutina and at Philippi, and still more, when compared with the settlements lately made for the veterans of Cæsar in Italy. These were minutely recorded, as the standard by which every legion had formed its expectations; and a general dissatisfaction was apparent in every rank and description of men. Octavius for some time affected to be ignorant of their discontent, and would have proceeded to make the arrangements he had planned for separating them, and for placing the legions in quarters remote from each other; but he had reason to doubt that his orders would not be obeyed, and still remained in suspense. When his knowledge of the mutinous spirit that prevailed in the army could no longer be dissembled, he endeavoured to soothe the most clamorous by additional marks of his favour, consisting chiefly of public honours, badges of military service to the men, and the title of senators bestowed on many of the officers. In distributing these favours, he assembled the army, and made a speech, setting forth the nature of the honours which he now conferred, and his farther intentions respecting the rewards which he meant to bestow. "*These are baubles,*" said a Tribune, named Offilius, interrupting him; "*children only are amused in this manner; but men who have exposed themselves in the service of their general, expect to be rewarded with lands and settle-*"

"*ments*." This Tribune was seconded by the clamours of the whole army. Octavius retired from the audience in some disorder; and, sensible of the danger to which he had exposed himself, from this time forward never ventured to meet these troops in a body, but employed secret arts in removing the heads of the mutiny.

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The Tribune Offilius, who had dared to interrupt his general in such mutinous terms, whether won by favour, or taken off by violence, was secretly disposed of. The legions who had served at Mutina and Philippi, amounting to twenty thousand men¹, were separately appeased by donations and promises; were prevailed upon to accept of their discharge from the service, and, without any farther disturbance, to depart from the island.

When this part of the army was removed, Octavius affected to consider those who were gone as the sole cause of the late discontents, and *the guilty*, he said, being thus separated from the innocent and from the deserving, he made an additional present in money to those who remained, and held out the hopes of convenient settlements; and of plentiful fortunes, at the final expiration of their time in the service. By these artifices, and prudent measures, he effected the proposed separation, and extricated himself from a danger which frequently arises in the sequel of civil wars, and threatens the victor with an overthrow, from that very engine which he had employed to raise his fortunes.

Octavius, before his departure from Sicily, ordered a contribution to be levied of sixteen hundred talents²; and being no way disposed to follow out the plan of Lepidus, in the annexation of Sicily to the province of Africa, he appointed separate governors to each. Having dismissed the ships which Antony had furnished in the war, with instructions

¹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. Dio. Cass. lib. xlix. c. 13, 14.

² Orosius, lib. vi.

³ About 175,000 l.

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to wait at Tarentum for the orders of their own superior, he himself passed into Italy.

The messengers who had been sent with accounts of the victories obtained by Octavius in Sicily being arrived before him at Rome, all ranks of men vied with each other in the applause which they bestowed on his conduct, and in celebrating the occasion with demonstrations of joy. In the name of the Senate and People, who had no longer any real political concessions to make, a variety of flattering proclamations were issued, ordering, in honour of the victor, statues, triumphal arches, processions, wreaths of laurel, anniversary rejoicings, and immediate thanksgivings to be prolonged beyond any former time assigned to such festivals. When he approached to the city, multitudes of every rank, adorned with chaplets, went forth to receive him, and conducted him in solemn procession to the temple, in which he was to perform the sacrifice of thanksgiving for his safe return.

Octavius, on the day after his arrival, proclaimed the peace which was obtained by the reduction of Sicily; and in two separate harangues, of which he gave copies in writing, one addressed to the Senate, the other to the People, he gave an account of his whole conduct, from the time that he first assumed the administration of the government, to the present time. And, agreeably to the dictates of that masterly judgment with which he now, at least, began to conduct the interests of his ambition, he chose this time of victory and prosperity in which to exhibit the effects of his clemency, of his moderation, and of his disposition to spare those who, being supposed disaffected to him, were now in his power. He remitted all the arrears of taxes that were any where due within his jurisdiction, either by farmers of the revenue or by private persons. Of the honours that were decreed to himself he made choice of a few, and declined such as were in any degree invidious and burdensome to the People.

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The inhabitants of Italy, and Roman citizens in general, having, among other evils, suffered greatly during the civil war, by the desertion of their slaves, who were readily received, and taken into the levies that were continually forming by different parties; Octavius took this opportunity, as far as it was in his power, at once to repair the loss which had been sustained by the master in the desertion of his slave, and to purge the army of a dangerous class of men, by whom it was overcharged and contaminated. In order to remove them in a manner that should prevent any disturbance on their part, he sent to every legion a sealed order, to be opened on a certain day, bearing, that all who had been in the condition of slaves should be secured; that as many as were claimed should be restored to their masters; and that the remainder should be put to death. According to this order, it was reported that thirty thousand were remitted to servitude, and six thousand killed*.

The author of this severe, but well-concerted reform, now in the twenty-eighth year of his age, had, by accommodating himself, on every occasion, to his circumstances, and by successively availing himself of the support of different parties, more especially by courting the military retainers of his late uncle, set himself above the civil constitution of his country; and now, by affecting a regard to property, to civil rank, and to the peace of his fellow-citizens, he was about to make the army itself dependent on his will. From the real impression which he made by this policy, as well as from adulation and fear, the people were still farther incited to load him with public honours, and had his effigy carried at Rome, and in every country-town of Italy, among the idols of the tutelar gods.

The advantage now gained by Octavius, in the acquisition of armies and provinces lately belonging to Lepidus, were sufficient to

* Orosius, lib. vi. c. 18.

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have alarmed the jealousy of his remaining colleague and rival in the empire, if he had not been engaged, at this time, in a very hazardous enterprise beyond the frontier of his own province.

Antony during his stay in Italy or Greece, while he was chiefly attentive to the event of affairs in the western provinces, had entrusted the Parthian war to his Lieutenant Ventidius. This officer acquitted himself with great honour in the discharge of his trust, recovered the province of Syria, which had been over-run by the Parthians, and drove them back beyond the Euphrates. Upon this account, he was judged worthy of a triumph, and came into Italy to receive this honour.

In the mean time, Antony was eager to gather the laurels which yet remained in this field, or was supposed to be jealous of the victories gained by his lieutenant over an enemy, who, till then, scarcely had yielded any advantage to the Roman arms. After his last visit to Italy, he had in the winter passed to Corcyra, and so far was attended by Octavia, but parted with her there, in the prospect of this arduous service; early in the spring he continued his voyage. Upon his arrival in Asia, notwithstanding the respect that was due to his alliance with Octavia and her brother, it soon appeared that he was still under the dominion of former passions. He already had two children by the Queen of Egypt, who were named Alexander and Cleopatra, but whom the mother likewise distinguished, by the pompous appellations of the Sun and the Moon. Being prevented by the urgency of the service, at this season, from making a visit at Alexandria, he sent an officer of rank, Fonteius Capito, thither, to conduct Cleopatra from her own kingdom into Syria; and having received her in that province, in his way to the Euphrates, among other marks of his liberality, and of his passion, instead of trinkets and tokens of love, he made her a present of Phœnicia, Cœlesyria, Cyprus,

Cyprus, and some part of Cilicia to be annexed to her kingdom. It was concerted between them, that at the end of the campaign he should pass the winter in Egypt; and they parted with mutual expressions of impatience for the return of this happy season.

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The army, now mustered by Antony, consisted of sixty thousand Roman infantry, ten thousand Spanish and Gaulish cavalry, thirty thousand irregulars, being an assemblage of horse and foot, and of different nations. While he advanced with this force towards the Euphrates, he made his demand, that the Parthians should restore the captives and military ensigns taken with Crassus'. This was become a point of national honour among the Romans, and, joined to the late provocation, was made the ground of the present quarrel.

The Roman general had undertaken this invasion of the Parthians, in concert with the king of Armenia; and finding, at his arrival on the Euphrates, all the passages of the river, contrary to his expectation, strongly guarded, he continued his march, having the Euphrates on his right. When he arrived in the Lesser Armenia, the season was too far advanced to effect the service he had planned against the Parthians; but having intelligence that the Medes, or people of the Greater Armenia, had joined the enemy against him in the preceding part of the war, he formed a design on Praaspa or Phraata⁶, the capital of their country; in expectation of taking this place by surprise, he passed the Euphrates, leaving his heavy baggage and engines, with a guard of two legions, under the command of Statianus. With the remainder of the army he penetrated into the kingdom of the Greater Armenia, and presented himself at the gates of the capital.

This was a place of great strength, and every necessary precaution had been taken for its safety. Antony found that it could not be

⁵ Plut. in Anton.

⁶ Ibid. Dio. Cass. lib. xlix. c. 26, 27, 28.

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taken by assault, and the Parthians, although they hastened to its relief, knowing that the Roman army had come altogether unprepared for a siege, suffered them at first to remain before it undisturbed. They directed their whole force against Statianus, whom, with the two legions he commanded, they surprised and cut off, and by this means made themselves masters of all the equipage and baggage of the Roman army.

Antony, upon the first alarm of the enemy's intention to attack Statianus, having left the greater part of his forces before Praaspa, marched with a strong detachment to support him; but coming too late, found the field covered with the slain of the Roman legions, without either friend or enemy in sight. He understood that Artavasdes, the King of Armenia, to whose alliance he trusted in the present war, had remained an unconcerned spectator of this disaster, and he made no doubt that he was betrayed by this prince; but thought proper for the present to disguise his resentment. The loss he had sustained, made it necessary for him to think of extricating his army from its present situation. Being alarmed for the safety of that part of it which he had left before Praaspa, he, with hasty marches, returned to its relief; but, at his arrival, finding no enemy near, and still flattering himself that the town might be obliged to surrender, and that it might, by its spoils, make up for the loss of his baggage, he lay before it, until he had exhausted all the provisions and forage that was to be found in the neighbouring country; and, in proportion as the other difficulties of his situation encreased, began to feel himself harassed with the sallies of a powerful garrison, and the frequent attacks of numerous parties of Parthians in the field, who began to act against him from every quarter, and made it equally difficult for him to decamp, or to subsist on his present ground.

Under these difficulties, the Roman general was frequently obliged to divide his forces; and leaving part to awe the town, marched with

the remainder to cover his foragers, and the providers of his camp. As the enemy pressed upon him, in order to diminish the range from which he received his provisions, he saw the necessity of hazarding a battle; and for this purpose, marched from his camp with ten legions, three Prætorian cohorts, and all his cavalry. The Parthians affected to abide his attack, but gave way at the first onset, and fled with every appearance of rout and confusion: they were pursued by the Roman infantry for fifty stadia, or about six miles, and by the cavalry over a hundred and fifty stadia, or about eighteen miles.

In this action, Antony flattered himself that he had put an end to his troubles from the Parthians; but, on numbering the prisoners and the slain, he found that only eighty of the enemy were killed, and thirty taken; and, on returning to his camp before the town of Praæspa, he found, that without being at all disconcerted by what had happened to them, they were returned to their former stations, and took measures, as before, to harass his camp, and to circumscribe his foraging parties. From this specimen of a victory over the Parthians, he learned to despair of being able to gain any advantage over an enemy, whose defeats were more pernicious to their antagonists than they were to themselves*. To complete his mortifications,

* Among the Romans who were seized with the passion of making offensive war on the Parthians, Julius Cæsar is mentioned. And it is a problem, which never can be solved, in what manner this able statesman and warrior would have acquitted himself in so arduous a task. The Parthians had their haunts beyond the Tigris; and besides leaving no means on the frontier, by which an enemy could subsist in approaching them, probably presented no hold by which they could be seized, even in their own country. As they had no ground which it was absolutely necessary for them to defend, so there was no ground on which an invader could be secure from their attacks.

They gave way while an enemy advanced, and reckoned it an advantage to draw him far from his resources and supports. They waited with patience, till time, hardships, disease, or want of provisions had rendered him an easy prey, or ripe for destruction; and they then pressed upon him with a ferocity and ardour, which abundantly corrected any belief of their cowardice that might have been taken from their manner of receiving his first attacks.

If Cæsar had not already conceived some new or uncommon means of reducing them, it is probable, that his first observations would have satisfied him, that he could not conquer,

tions, he found that the garrison of Praaspa had made a powerful sally in his absence, driven his guards from their approaches, and destroyed all the works he had constructed against the town. Judging it vain to renew his attack, or to remain any longer in his present situation, he sent a deputation to Phraates, probably rather to conceal his intended purpose of flight, than with hopes to obtain any reasonable terms of peace.

The King of Parthia received the message of Antony, seated on a golden throne, and holding in his hand a bended bow, the emblem of war. In order to sound the intentions of the Roman general, he proposed, as a preliminary to peace, that he should raise the siege of Praaspa. Antony was prepared to decamp, as soon as his messengers should be out of the hands of the enemy, but affected reluctance in agreeing to this condition, hoping that by these means he might conceal his intention, gain a few marches a-head, and reach the frontier of the Lesser Armenia, before the Parthians could take any advantage of his flight; but the king being equally refined in his artifices, perceived, in the affected reluctance of Antony to agree to what he knew to be necessary, an intention to fly, without waiting the result of a treaty, and, in this apprehension, he had his cavalry already prepared to pursue him, disputed every pass, hung upon his rear and upon his flanks, occupied the springs of water, and laid waste the country before him.

Many of the Roman army, overcome by famine and fatigue, expired on the march; others had laid down their arms, and submitted to the enemy. But those who had surrendered themselves, being cruelly treated, served, by their example, to check the inclination of others to sue for quarter, and taught the soldier to look for safety

quer such a people, although he might, in time, have settled a new nation on the Tigris to supplant them; and it is probable that he would have availed himself of some of their ordinary flights, to lay claim to a

victory, and thus, with more ability than others of his countrymen, finish the war with a triumph at Rome.

⁹ Plut. in Antonio.

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only in perseverance, and in the use of his arms. Antony himself, in every encounter, was prepared for the last extremity, and had a person retained, with orders, in case of his being likely to fall into the enemy's hands, to end his life; or, in case he were killed in battle, to disfigure his body, that it might not be known. But he passed through all these difficulties, as usual, with uncommon constancy and valour, making, in twenty-one days, a march of three hundred miles¹⁰, under a continual attack of the enemy, in which, it is reckoned that his army was eighteen times engaged in battle¹¹. At the end of this march, in reviewing the legions, with which he began the retreat, it was found, he had lost about a fourth of their number¹²; or, as Plutarch states his loss, twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse.

It appears that Antony, upon his arrival in the Lesser Armenia, left a considerable body behind him in that country, to check the farther pursuit of the enemy¹³, and with the remainder of the army, proceeding from thence with great precipitation, and under great hardships from the season, by which he added eight thousand men more to his former losses, he arrived at Comi, a small sea-port, between Berytus and Sidon, on the coast of Syria. At this place, he was received by Cleopatra on board her fleet, and with her effected his passage by sea to Alexandria, where he endeavoured to conceal his losses, and to efface the memory of his sufferings in the midst of dissipation and pleasure.

During the dependance of these events, the state of the war in Asia had been variously reported in the western parts of the empire. It was believed for some time, that the Roman army in Armenia, with its leader, had perished. On this supposition, Sextus Pom-

U. C. 718.
L. Cornificius,
Sext. Pompeius.

¹⁰ Liv. Epitome, lib. cxxix. &c.

¹¹ Vel. Pater. lib. ii. c. 82.

¹² Plut. in Antonio.

¹³ Dio. Cass. lib. xlix. c. 30.

peius, who still remained in the island of Lesbos, began to resume his pretensions. He was not without hopes, that on the demise of Antony, the armies of Asia might declare for himself, and, during some time, affected to receive every person who repaired to him, as the head of a party that was still of some consideration in the empire. He even proceeded to solicit the alliance of all the princes of the East, from Thrace to Pontus, and the banks of the Euphrates¹⁴. But upon the report of Antony's return into Syria, he laid aside his ambitious thoughts, and sent a message to sue for protection. Among other particulars, he set forth, that he had committed himself to the justice and clemency of Antony, not from despair, or from any sudden impulse whatever, but from previous thought and mature deliberation. He might have had a safe retreat, and a powerful support, he said, in Spain, where the friends of his father were yet numerous, and full of zeal; but from a thorough conviction, that the interests of Antony were the same with his own, he had preferred his alliance to any other. "Octavius," he continued, "will soon have the same quarrel with you, that he has lately had with me, and afterwards with Lepidus. He considers the empire as his property, and cannot endure a partner. His open force is not so dangerous, as the insidious professions, and the artful disguises with which he hides his designs. I make you an offer of a friendship that is sincere, and of a faith that is yet unbroken. I made you the same offer, while I was master of Sicily and Sardinia, and in the height of my fortune. By accepting of it, you will save the remains of a family, yet respected by the Roman People; and, by joining with me, you will gain the accession of a party, whom even adversity has not made to abandon their leader."

¹⁴ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

While

While Sextus Pompeius addressed himself to Antony in these terms, he endeavoured to preserve the appearance of an armed force, and hovered about with some ships on the coast of Ionia: Being pursued by Titius, who had orders from Antony to observe his motions, he sailed up the Propontis, and put into the harbour of Nicomedia. Here he again offered to negotiate¹⁵; but being told that he must surrender at discretion, he set fire to his ships, and attempted to escape by land. Having got into Phrygia, he was taken in his flight, and soon after, by order of Antony, was put to death.

This event being known at Rome, Octavius ordered public rejoicings. Among these was a solemn procession, led by two carriages or chariots of state: in one of them, Octavius himself appeared; by the other, he marked the place that was due to Antony. Still farther, to soothe the jealousy of his colleague in the empire, he gave orders that a statue should be erected to him in the Temple of Concord, and that he should have a share in the honours which had been recently decreed to himself. This indecent triumph over the last of a family, which had been so long in high estimation at Rome, was far from being acceptable to the People. The misfortunes of the young man himself, who from his earliest years had been an exile, and stripped of his inheritance, the memory of his father and of the republic, filled the minds of men with secret indignation, and with a tender melancholy which they could not disguise; and though Octavius himself escaped on this occasion without any public insult, yet Titius some time afterwards exhibiting public shews in the theatre of the great Pompey, was, on account of the part which he had taken in the murder of the son, driven from thence by the execrations of the People¹⁶.

¹⁵ Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 18.¹⁶ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 79.

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The forces of the empire were now parcelled in two separate lots, under the direction of masters, who were soon to entertain the views and the jealousies of separate monarchs. Octavius was become the sovereign of Rome, and occupied chiefly in removing obstructions to his government, and in consolidating the arrangements he had made in the state. He had taken measures to repress many disorders, the dregs of the civil wars, which still afflicted the city and the contiguous provinces. He had brought his armies under tolerable discipline, and even in a great measure reconciled the People to the loss of their political consequence, and of their liberties. He took care to destroy, with much ostentation, all papers and records from which those, who had acted against himself, might fear being drawn into trouble. He retained the usual names, and the forms of office; and wherever he himself was to exercise any uncommon power, he talked of it as a mere temporary expedient to obviate the disorders of the times, and spoke of his intention, in concert with Antony, to discontinue every irregular mode of administration, as soon as the war with the Parthians should be brought to a period. He even sent Bibulus into the East, with open and publick instructions to concert with his colleague, the manner and time of their resignation²⁷.

But Antony, acting as sovereign of the eastern empire, appeared on his part to be altogether intent on the entertainments of the court at Alexandria, on the renewal of the war which he affected to meditate against the Parthians, or on his project against Artavasdes, the king of the Lesser Armenia, who he thought had betrayed him in his late expedition. He was encouraged in his designs on that quarter, by the offers of a league, which were made to him from the king of Medea, who thinking his services, during the late invasion

²⁷ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

ill requited by the Parthians, was now disposed to take arms against them. C H A P.
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Antony having accepted of this alliance, formed the project of a new invasion of Armenia, chiefly intent on his design to get the person of Artavasdes into his power; but he was, for one season, diverted from the execution of his purpose, by an incident, which brought into the scale of public councils the weight of passions and of motives at all times powerful; and at a time when the world was to be governed by the humours of a few persons, scarcely to be balanced by any other consideration whatever.

Octavia was become impatient of the neglect with which she was treated by her husband, and jealous of the preference which he gave to Cleopatra. Hearing that he was to leave Alexandria on a new Parthian expedition, she determined to place herself in his way as he passed through Syria. To enhance the pleasure of their meeting, she was furnished with a variety of presents, and, among the rest, attended by a body of two thousand chosen men, cloathed and accoutred in the manner of the Prætorian bands, which had been formed by her brother for the guard of his own person, and which he now sent as a token of friendship to Antony. She was arrived in Greece with this attendance, when her intention became known in Egypt[†].

On hearing of this journey of Octavia, Cleopatra being greatly alarmed, had the address to appear sunk under a weight of affliction, which she affected to bear with fortitude; but was sometimes surprised in tears, which she endeavoured to dry up, and either increased the anguish of real passion, or gave more appearance of sincerity to her dissimulation, by her affectation of a desire to conceal what she felt. Her health, in appearance, declined, and it was

[†] Dio. Cass. lib. xxxiii. Plut. in Antonio.

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whispered, that her life was in danger. She herself continued obstinate in her silence; but her confidants insinuated that the fear of losing Antony was the cause of her distress, and that the day he left Alexandria, would probably be the last of her life. Thus, with a mixture probably of artifice and real passion, not uncommon in cases of this sort, the Queen of Egypt had the address to retain Antony at Alexandria, and prevailed on him to send a peremptory order to Octavia, not to advance in her intended progress to the East. He excused himself at the same time, from even accepting the presents which she brought from her brother¹⁹.

Upon the return of Octavia to Rome, under all the circumstances of this affront, her brother proposed that she should renounce her connection with Antony, and remove from his house; but if in this he wished her to act from resentment, her own conduct, though proceeding from a different motive, was better calculated to unite the people in avenging her quarrel. Being willing to await the return of her husband's inclinations, she remained at the head of his family, continued to manage his affairs, and acted in every particular as the mother of his children, even of those by a former marriage, and undertook the protection of such adherents and friends as came to solicit their affairs in the Capitol²⁰.

The unworthy treatment which Octavia received in return for so much duty, as it interested the public in her favour, so it gave an immediate prospect of a breach between the leaders, who now divided the empire. Antony and Octavius had been rivals for the succession of Cæsar's power, had frequent quarrels, which were suspended from time to time by apparent and ambiguous reconciliations. Even the marriage of Octavia, was no more than a mere expedient to put off to a more convenient time a final breach, which, between parties of

¹⁹ Plut. in Antonio.²⁰ Ibid.

such opposite pretensions, must in the end be deemed unavoidable.

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It is probable that Octavius, in all the vicissitudes of his connection with Antony, or with any other party, had never lost sight of the expectations he had formed from his earliest youth, not only as the heir of Julius Cæsar, but as the successor likewise to his power in the commonwealth. He united or broke with different parties, according to the state of his affairs, and procured these breaches or coalitions in the precise conjunctures that were most favourable to himself. He at one time joined with the Senate, and the assassins of his uncle, to pull down the power of Antony; he afterwards joined with Antony to reduce the Senate, and to destroy the republic. He courted Antony occasionally, to prevent his forming any dangerous combination with Sextus Pompeius or with Lepidus, and, in general, kept terms with him, while either of these leaders continued to be formidable, or could cast the balance by uniting against him.

This refined politician, upon becoming sole master of Italy, and of the western provinces, was now better enabled, than formerly, to brave the power of his remaining competitor in the empire; and he prepared for a contest, which could not be long avoided. He had greatly reduced his military establishment, by purging his armies of improper subjects, not only the armies which had come over to him from his antagonists, Sextus Pompeius and Lepidus, but those likewise which had been levied in common between Antony and himself. But even, after he had thus dismissed such as were of doubtful faith, and reduced his establishment to that measure which he wished to maintain, he had still remaining a greater number than his present occasions seemed to require, and he sought for pretences, under which, in the present state of tranquillity to which his division of the empire was reduced, he might avoid giving any alarm to his rival, and justify his maintaining so great a military force. For this purpose

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pose probably it was, that he formed the project of a war first in Africa, in the execution of which, he actually passed into Sicily; and being there some time detained by contrary winds, he changed his object, and sent the army destined for Africa to the opposite side of Italy, beyond the Hadriatic, to make war on the Japydes, Savi, Pannonii, and other nations on the side of Illyricum, who were more likely than the Africans to furnish his troops with the experience of real service, as well as himself with a plausible pretence for keeping them on foot. They accordingly penetrated, by his orders, beyond the frontier of the empire on that side, and were employed to gather laurels at the expence of the barbarians, by whom, he alleged, that his provinces had been often infested.

U. C. 719.
L. Scribo-
nius Libo,
M. Antonius
absens.
L. Semp-
ronius Atra-
tinus.
Ex Kal. Julii.
Paul. Æmi-
lius, C. Me-
nius. Ex
Kal. Novem.
M. Heren-
nius.

In the mean while, according to the arrangements that were made relating to the succession of Consuls, Antony was elected into this office; and though not present in person on the first of January, had his name entered on the record. In accepting of this nomination, he meant no more than to ascertain his right to dispose of the Consulship, and had given a commission, by which, on the very day of his admission, he vacated the office in favour of another, and brought forward a number of his friends in the course of the year. He wished by these means to make known, that although Octavius was pleased to occupy the seals of government; yet he was not to engross for his friends and retainers the ordinary honours that were enjoyed in the state.

Octavius, probably, treading as nearly as he could in the steps of his late uncle, still sought for occasions to keep his armies in service; and although he was not inclined to make war abroad, or make new acquisitions of territory to the empire, yet he affected to have many designs which required the possession of a military force. Among these, he projected an enterprize for the reduction of Britain, made
the

the necessary preparations, and proceeded himself to the northern parts of Gaul. Here, however, his attention was again diverted to a different quarter. Having an army employed on the side of Illyricum, in separate divisions, under Agrippa and other officers, Messala and Geminus, whose names only are known; it was reported, that the division, under Geminus, acting in Panonia, had received a check, and been obliged to retire from some parts of the country they had formerly occupied. Upon this alarm, Octavius himself thought proper to lay aside his design upon Britain; but finding, upon his arrival in Illyricum, that the supposed loss was already repaired, the enemy in different encounters defeated, and the former ground of his army recovered, he himself joined Agrippa, who was employed against the Dalmatians, and continued for some months to take a part in the campaign with this favourite officer²¹.

Antony, at the same time, as if equally disposed to have an army inured to service, sought likewise for occasions of war; and having quieted the jealousies of Cleopatra, by a seemingly irreconcilable breach with her rival, was permitted to form projects of enterprise beyond the limits of Egypt. He renewed his designs against the Kings of Armenia and Parthia. In the spring, he advanced to Nicopolis, a place so named, from the victory of Pompey over Mithridates; and supposing that the treachery of Artavasdes, in betraying Statianus, would justify any measures he could take against him, he sent repeated messages, under pretence of friendship, desiring a conference; but with a real intention of seizing his person. The more effectually to remove all suspicions of any such design, he proposed a marriage between Alexander, one of his own sons by Cleopatra, and the daughter of that prince; but not succeeding in this artifice, he advanced into the heart of Armenia, and threatened to lay the king-

²¹ Dio, Cass. lib. xlix. c. 39.

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dom waste with fire and sword. The king being unprepared for defence, took his resolution at last to try the sincerity of Antony's professions, and was actually taken.

The first advantage which the Roman general proposed to make of this capture, was exacting a ransom; and for this purpose, the king, being carried round the fortresses of his kingdom in which the royal treasure had been deposited, was made to demand great sums of money under this pretence; but the officers, to whom this demand was addressed, knowing that their sovereign was a prisoner, shut their gates against him, and refused to comply. The army of Armenia at the same time assembled, and considering the throne as vacant, placed upon it Artaxes, the eldest son of their captive king. Being led by this young prince into immediate action with the Romans, they were defeated, and he himself was obliged to take refuge with the Parthians.

Antony contented with this victory, which gave him possession of the country, put his army into winter quarters in the Lesser Armenia, and entered into a defensive treaty with the King of Media, whose daughter, upon that occasion, was betrothed to the same son of Cleopatra, whose proposed marriage with the daughter of Artavasdes had been employed as a snare to betray that prince.

At the conclusion of these transactions, Antony set out on his return to Egypt, and meditating a triumphal procession into the city of Alexandria, destined his captive for a part in the scene, gave orders that he should be conducted thither in chains; and accordingly, upon the arrival of the troops and the equipage which were to form his retinue, he made his entry with all the parade of a Roman triumph, repeated all the forms which were usual on such occasions at Rome, made a speech to the People, and ordered a public feast. In these several particulars, seeming to place the inhabitants of Alexandria upon a foot of equality with the Roman People, and prostituting

tuting a solemn institution of the Romans to the vanity of a barbarous court, he gave much scandal and offence at Rome. Every circumstance being exaggerated by his enemies, his own extravagance gained a ready belief to every report that was circulated against him.

It has been observed, on different occasions, that Antony, although he stemmed the current of adversity with vigour and ability, was generally carried by prosperity into every excess of sensuality, extravagance, and dissipation. In this time of festivity, he assumed, in the midst of his debauch, not only the eastern dress, and all the badges of royalty, but likewise²⁴ the attire and designation of a God; wore the buskins, the golden crown, and the chaplet of ivy belonging to Bacchus, held the Thyrsus in his hand, and was drawn through the streets of Alexandria on a car like those which were employed in the processions of the Gods²⁵. It was said, that Cleopatra at the same time assumed the dress of Isis; that being seated together on thrones of gold, elevated on a lofty platform, Antony presented Cleopatra to the People, as Queen not only of Egypt and Cyprus, but likewise of Africa and Cælesyria, and that he associated with her in these titles. Cæsarion, her supposed son by Julius Cæsar. To his own son Alexander, in these drunken assignments of empire, it was reported that he allotted Armenia, Media, and Parthia, which, though not in his possession, he considered as a certain conquest: to Ptolomy, another of his sons, Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia²⁶, and presented each of them to the People in the dress, and with the ensigns and the retinue suited to the several destinations; Alexander, with the Persian tiara; and Ptolomy, with the dress and diadem worn by the princes of Macedonia.

²⁴ Florus, lib. iv. c. 11. Dio, Cass. lib. l. c. 5. ²⁵ Vell. Pater, lib. ii. c. 83.

²⁶ Dio, Cass. lib. xlix. c. 41.

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This mock distribution of the eastern kingdoms was executed in formal deeds or writings, of which copies were ordered to Rome to be deposited in the records of the Temple of Vesta, and in the keeping of the Virgins. And as Octavius looked forward to an immediate quarrel with Antony, the whole circumstances with which these acts had been solemnized at Alexandria, were industriously published at Rome to his prejudice. The writings, however, not being actually brought to the city before the subsequent year, in which Domitius and Sosius were Consuls, part of the scandal was for some time secreted by the influence of these magistrates, who were inclined to favour Antony against Octavius in the impending contest for empire.

While Antony indulged himself in these extravagances at Alexandria, Octavius, with L. Volcatius Tullus, assumed the title of Consuls at Rome; but the first, at his admission, thought proper to follow the example that was lately set to him by Antony; on the first of January vacated the office, and substituted another in his place. By like successive substitutions, he communicated this dignity in the course of the year to six different persons.

The office of *Ædile*, which had been generally declined on account of the expence which attended the discharge of it, and which had been for some time discontinued, was now revived in the person of Agrippa, who, though he had been already of a higher rank, and in the station of Consul, voluntarily undertook the duties of *Ædile*; and, at his own expence, applied himself to the more serious objects of the trust, by constructing highways, erecting public works, and cleansing the common sewers, works of great antiquity, that seemed to exceed the force of the times to which they were referred". He

U. C. 720.
Imper. Cæsar
iterum.
L. Volcatius
Tullus.

P. Autronius
Pætus.
ex Kal. Maii.
L. Flavius.

Ex Kal. Jul.
C. Fonteius.

M. Acilius
Aviola.
Ex Kal. Sept.
L. Vinucius.

Ex Kal. Oct.
L. Lavonius.

²⁷ Plinius, lib. xxxvi. c. 15.

at the same time repaired the Circus, made new regulations for conducting the entertainments of that place, and himself exhibited magnificent shews.

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Under this magistracy of Agrippa, the People were gratified with presents, as well as with pastimes. Articles of finery, trinkets, and even sums of money were distributed by a species of lottery. Counters or billets, entitling the bearer to certain prizes, which were marked upon each, were thrown out by handfuls to be scrambled for in the crowd. Public baths, furnished with all the usual apparatus, were provided, and attended with keepers and dressers at the public expence²⁸; acts of munificence and popularity, in which it was thought proper to cultivate the public favour.

Octavius at the same time, on so near a prospect of a quarrel with Antony, who was to employ half the forces of the empire against him, had the good fortune to disengage himself from foreign wars. Those which he carried on in Dalmatia, terminated in the submission of that people, in their giving hostages for their good behaviour, and in their restoring the colours which had been taken from a Roman army they had defeated under the conduct of Vatinius. These he hung up in a portico, which bore his own name; but a triumph being decreed to him, he declined or deferred accepting of it; on this, as on many other occasions, discovering a mind, though fond of dominion, indifferent to pomp, and the exterior appearances of power.

Antony passed the summer at the head of his army in Syria, without having made any attempt against the Parthians. He renewed his defensive alliance with the King of Media; and the parties in this treaty, being to name the powers against whom they respectively wished, in the event of a war, to secure an alliance, the King of Media made particular mention of the Parthians, and Antony named

²⁸ Dio, Cass. lib. xlix. c. 43.

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Octavius. At the end of this negotiation, they mutually made an exchange of some troops²⁹.

Thus Antony made no secret of the distrust which he conceived of his colleague in the empire, or of a breach, which, from their mutual jealousies and provocations, was gradually widening. He affected to treat Cæsarion, the reputed son of Julius Cæsar by Cleopatra, as the legitimate heir of the Julian family. He likewise resorted on Octavius, the artifice which had been practised against himself, by professing an intention to resign the power of Triumvir. He complained of the violence which had been done to Lepidus; but asked, if Lepidus were justly deposed, why he himself was not admitted to his share in the provinces? He complained of his being excluded from a share in the spoils of Sextus Pompeius, as well as of Lepidus; and of his being excluded from Italy, which was the common seat of government to the whole empire, and which Octavius had not any right to appropriate to himself.

To these complaints Octavius replied, That Antony, without making any compensation to his colleagues in the western provinces, had seized on the kingdom of Egypt; that he had unwarrantably put Sextus Pompeius to death; that he had dishonoured the Roman name by his breach of faith with the King of Armenia, and had given no account at Rome of the spoils of that kingdom; that he had presumed to dismember the Roman empire in behalf of Cleopatra, and of her children; and that he supported her in an attempt to intrude into the family of Cæsar one of her spurious progeny³⁰.

These mutual complaints were publicly made, and supported at Rome. Neither of the parties professed any intention of going to war; but, under various pretences, collected money, and augmented their forces. They held a continual correspondence by agents

²⁹ Dio. Cass. lib. xlix. c. 44.

³⁰ Ibid. lib. l. c. 1.

and messengers, merely to have an opportunity of observing each others motions; and soon involved in their disputes and jealousies, not only their own immediate retainers and friends, but such as now composed the Senate and assemblies of the People, who could not remain unconcerned spectators in a difference between persons who were likely again to involve the empire itself in a civil war.

Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Caius Sossius, having in consequence of preceding engagements succeeded to the Consulate, and being attached to Antony, openly espoused his cause. Sossius, on the first of January, in entering upon his office, ventured to arraign the conduct of Octavius, enumerated the injuries which he had offered to Antony, and moved the Senate for redress.

Octavius, having previous intimation of what was to be moved by the Consul, and wishing to know the full extent of the charge before he should be obliged to reply, on that day absented himself from the Senate; but took care to have Nonius, one of the Tribunes of the People, prepared to watch over his interest, and to put a negative on any proceeding that might be attempted to his prejudice. At the next assembly of the Senate, he appeared with a numerous body of armed men, seated himself between the Consuls, and from that place made his answer to the accusations, which in the former meeting had been stated against him, and retorted much blame on his enemies. He called upon Antony, in particular, to return into Italy, and to resign the Triumvirate, the period for which that temporary power was created being now expired.

To this defiance, on the part of Octavius, no reply being made by the friends of Antony, the assembly was adjourned for some days, during which time both the Consuls thought proper to withdraw

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U. C. 721.
Cn. Domi-
tius Ahenobarbus, Caius
Sossius.
Ex Kal. Jul.
L. Cornelius.
Ex Kal. Nov.
U. Valerius.

³¹ Liv. Epitome, lib. cxxxii.

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from the city; and not supposing themselves safe within the jurisdiction of a person against whom they had taken so hostile a part, continued their retreat into Asia, where Antony, whose cause they espoused, had the means to protect them.

Octavius, pleased to find himself, by the flight of the ordinary magistrates, left master of the city, and freed from the necessity of employing immediate force against the forms of commonwealth, gave them no interruption, nor attempted to prevent their escape. He even gave out, that these officers had withdrawn by his permission, and that every one else who was disposed to join his antagonist, might follow their example²².

Antony, when he received an account of what was thus passing at Rome, being arrived in the Lesser Armenia, on his last expedition into that country, assembled all the Senators of his party who were then with his army, laid before them his grounds of complaint against Octavius, renounced in form his marriage with Octavia, and declared war on her brother²³. At the same time, he took a solemn oath, in which he bound himself, at the end of six months, after he should have relieved Italy from the tyranny of Octavius, to restore the government entire to the Senate and People, agreeably to the ancient constitution. Having taken this method to gain all those who wished for the restoration of the commonwealth, and having remitted great sums of money into Italy, to be dealt out in presents and gratuities to the army of his rival²⁴, instead of pursuing the pretended object of the war in Armenia, he put his army in motion westward. Having Canidius advanced with sixteen legions, he himself conducting the Queen of Egypt, who was to have her share in the enterprise, took the route of Ephesus, where all his ships were

²² Dio. Cass. lib. l. c. ii.

²³ Ibid. lib. l. c. 3.

²⁴ Ibid. lib. l. c. 7.

ordered to assemble. Of these he had eight hundred sail, of which Cleopatra furnished two hundred completely equipped, together with twenty thousand talents in money³³.

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The Consuls Domitius and Sosius having joined Antony at Ephesus, and finding all his councils governed by the caprice of Cleopatra, and all his measures made subservient to her vanity or interest, warmly recommended that the Queen of Egypt should return into her own kingdom, and there remain until the war should be at an end; but she, dreading the loss of her influence, the restoration of Octavia, and a reconciliation of parties, to which her pretensions, interests, and passions must be the first sacrifice, employed all her artifice to defeat their counsel, and to maintain her ascendant over Antony. For this purpose, with more care and assiduity than she mustered the forces of her allies, or collected the resources of her kingdom for the support of the war, she assembled from every quarter the means of dissipation, and the instruments of pleasure.

Many Roman officers, who had hitherto embarked their fortunes with Antony, disgusted by the appearances of levity and dissipation which attended him on this occasion, withdrew from his cause, and threw themselves into the arms of his enemy. Plancus, in particular, with Titius, long dissatisfied with the influence and conduct of Cleopatra, deserted him. They brought with them into Italy particular accounts of Antony's levity, and of Cleopatra's insolent speeches, insinuating that she flattered herself with the hopes of becoming mistress of the Roman empire. They produced copies of Antony's will, already mentioned as having been sent to the records of the Vestals, and which, by its extravagance, procured credit to every other report which was raised to his prejudice, so much as to make it believed, that if he should prevail in the contest with Octavius, he meant to

³³ Plut. in Antonio, near three millions sterling.

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declare Cleopatra Queen of the Romans, and to transfer the seat of the empire to Alexandria.

These reports tending to render Antony an object of ridicule, or of scorn, were propagated with great effect among the People. They were even introduced in the Senate, and employed as the pretence for a motion that was made to divest him of his present command in the East, and of that share of the sovereignty which he held in the capacity of Triumvir, and to declare him incapable of holding the office of Consul, to which he was destined for the ensuing year.

Plancus, in support of the motion that was made to this purpose, urging, together with the reports now mentioned, the manifold disorders which were imputed to Antony, and the many offences he had committed against the commonwealth, was answered with great courage and asperity, by persons who still ventured to espouse the cause of the absent Triumvir. "While you were of his councils," said Coponius to Plancus on this occasion, "I doubt not but the conduct of Antony was sufficiently blameable".

Octavius, however, being master at Rome, the motion was carried, and a decree was obtained, in consequence of it, to suspend Mark Antony in the exercise of all his powers. War at the same time was formally declared against the Queen of Egypt, while Octavius, with his usual discretion, to avoid making enemies unnecessarily of those who must have been involved with Antony in any personal attainder, did not include him in this declaration. A proclamation however was published, "requiring all citizens to withdraw themselves from Antony, as being abandoned to the caprices of a stranger, and a woman, who, by a kind of fascination, led him in her train, and prevailed upon him to countenance, against his

³⁶ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 83.

" own country, a war which was to be conducted by the eunuchs
 " Mardio and Pothinus, keepers of the palace of Alexandria; and
 " by Ira and Charmion, the waiting women of Cleopatra, who
 " hoped soon to reign in the capital of the Roman empire, as abso-
 " lutely as they had for some time governed in the provinces of the
 " East."

In the sequel of these declarations, some taxes for the expence of the war were laid on the inhabitants of Italy; an uncommon stretch of power, which, on the approach of an enemy who was likely to divide the People, appeared to be impolitic and dangerous. All freed slaves, having two hundred sestertia or upwards, were required to pay an eighth of their effects, free citizens were required to pay a fourth of their yearly revenue; and these exactions being violently enforced, gave rise in many places to insurrection and bloodshed²⁷; and the minds of men being greatly agitated, reports of presages and prodigies were circulated as usual, in times of great alarm, and on the eve of important events.

Antony, in the mean time, advanced with his fleet and army from Ephesus to Samos, and from thence to Athens, where, together with the Queen of Egypt, he was received with a flattering pageantry, and with many complimentary addresses, in composing which, this people now exercised that ingenuity for which they were formerly celebrated in conducting matters of state and of war. Cleopatra was admitted to the freedom of the city of Athens. Antony, being already a citizen, led the procession, in which the republic came to confer this honour on the Queen; and made her a speech in name of his fellow citizens, the Athenian people.

From thence Antony proceeded to the island of Corcyra, where all his forces assembled, and seemed to threaten Italy with an immediate invasion. He had undoubtedly got the start of his antagonist, might

²⁷ Plut. in Antonio.

²⁸ Dio. Cass. lib. l. c. 10

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have surprised him, and divided the inhabitants of Italy, and other parts of the western empire. Of these, numbers were discontented on account of recent exactions, many were disposed to favour the absent party, or from animosity to a government, under which they had experienced oppression, were desirous of any change.

With all these advantages in his favour, Antony either never had the intention to invade Italy in the present season, or laid it aside, and determined to pass the winter in Greece. He sent his fleet into the gulph of Ambracia, and quartered his army in the Peloponnesus, or round the gulph of Corinth, where, besides the ordinary resources of the country, they had continual supplies of every necessary by sea, from Asia and Egypt.

U. C. 722.
Imper. Cæs.
Mar. Val.
Messala Cor-
finus.
Ex Kal. Mart.
M. Titius,
ex Kal. Oct.
Cn. Pom-
peius.

By the last arrangement, which had been concerted between Octavius and Antony, for the succession of Consuls during eight years, of which this was the last, they themselves were now to have entered on the office; but Antony being set aside by a public act of the Senate and People, Octavius assumed for his colleague Messala, already mentioned as the particular friend of Marcus Brutus. This almost only remaining partizan of the republic had been among the proscribed, but was afterwards taken into favour, and reconciled to the successor of Cæsar¹².

Octavius now holding the office of Roman Consul, endeavoured to sink, under this designation of a legal magistrate, his pretensions as a military adventurer, and qualified the troops, which he employed against Antony, as the forces of the commonwealth, assembled to repel the attack of a foreign enemy. He drew them together on the coast of Apulia, and while he stationed the greater part of his fleet in two divisions at Brundisium and Tarentum, sent Agrippa with a

¹² Dio. Cass. ut supra.

squadron

squadron to ply off the harbours of Greece, and to interrupt the naval communications of the enemy.

By the vigilance and activity of Agrippa, many captures were made in the winter, and the conveyance of corn, arms, and military stores from Asia, Syria, and Egypt, intended for the use of Antony's fleet and army⁴⁰, was rendered difficult and extremely precarious. To supply their necessities, both his sea and land forces were obliged to plunder the country around them; and, in the want of horses and carriages, drove the inhabitants like beasts of burden, laden with corn and other provisions, to the sea coast. Antony, when he joined his fleet at Actium, being told that half his rowers had perished from scarcity and disease: "*The oars, he said, I hope are safe*."

In the mean time, Octavius brought his land forces to Brundisium and Tarentum; and either to shew the strength of his party, or to secure the persons of those of whose fidelity he entertained any doubt, summoned all the Roman citizens of note to attend him on the coast. From thence, in order to profit by Antony's delay, and to fix the theatre of the war in Greece, he embarked with his army, and stood for the opposite coast of Epirus. He landed under the promontory of Acroceraunus, the same place at which Julius debarked in pursuit of the war with Pompey; and from this place, ordering the fleet to coast round the head lands, and the island of Corcyra, he marched with the army along shore towards the gulph of Ambracia.

This gulph opens into the channel that separates the islands of Corcyra, Leucada, and Cephalonia. It is narrow at its entrance⁴¹; but is wider within⁴², and stretches eastward⁴³ about twenty or thirty

⁴⁰ Oros. lib. vi. c. 19.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² About half a mile, or five stadia.

⁴³ One hundred stadia.

⁴⁴ Stretches in land three hundred stadia.

Polyb. lib. iv. c. 63.

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miles. At its opening, on the southern shore, stood Actium, and opposite to this place stood Toryné, afterwards called Nicapolis. Antony had taken possession of Actium, and having a proper harbour in the gut, commanded the whole navigation of the gulph.

Octavius advancing with his fleet and army from the northward, and having no opposition made to him by the enemy, took possession of Toryné, entrenched himself in a strong post on shore, and stationed his fleet behind him in a creek, which furnished a harbour sufficiently safe⁴³.

Antony already posted on the opposite side of the gulph, either did not think himself in condition to prevent the enemy from making this lodgment in his presence, or determined by some other motive, chose to act on the defensive; and thus the armies were stationed, Octavius in Epirus, and Antony in Acarnania, on the opposite sides of the entrance to the gulph of Ambracia.

The state of the forces on each side is variously reported. Plutarch says, that in entering on the war, Antony had five hundred galleys, of which there were many mounting eight and ten tire of oars; that the land army, which had been transported by his fleet, consisted of a hundred thousand infantry, and twelve thousand horse; that Octavius had two hundred and fifty galleys, eighty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. Others place the superiority of numbers on the side of Octavius, but state them as more nearly equal⁴⁴.

As the Egyptian fleet still commanded the passage of the gulph, Antony, after it was too late to disturb the enemy in making their lodgment, seized a post, with a considerable part of his army, on the side of Toryné, to restrain their excursions, and to cut off their forage. Octavius, on his part, detached Agrippa, with a powerful

⁴³ Plut. in Antonio.⁴⁴ Ibid.

squadron, to make descents on the coasts, to ravage the towns that were in the possession of Antony, and to cut off the supplies that were brought him by sea.

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According to these instructions, Agrippa took possession of Methoné, on the coast of Messenia and of Patræ, near the mouth of the gulph of Corinth, entered that gulph, and made a descent near the city of Corinth, afterwards took possession of the promontory of Leucada, which lay in the course of Antony's convoys⁴⁵, and obliged him, after a check he had received in the neighbourhood of Toryné by the defeat of the cavalry he employed on that side, to abandon his ground in Epirus, and to repass the straits to Actium.

In these operations passed the greater part of summer: but as nothing was decided, Domitius, who, in the preceding year, notwithstanding he was Consul, had left his station in the city to join Antony, now disgusted with his conduct, went over to Octavius. A general distrust ensued in the party⁴⁶, and Antony, being distressed for want of provisions, saw the necessity of making his retreat, or of risking a general action. His fleet having suffered greatly in winter from scarcity and from disease, he deliberated whether he should not abandon his ships, and rest his cause on the event of a battle on shore⁴⁷; but Cleopatra, who governed all his councils, and who dreaded being deprived of a retreat by sea, urged him without delay to set sail for Alexandria. She proposed, that, to check the progress of the enemy, proper detachments should be left to keep possession of all the strong-holds in Asia and Greece; that these detachments should be supported from Egypt; and that Antony, in the mean time, should prepare the whole forces of that kingdom to contend for the empire of the world.

⁴⁵ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 84.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Plut. in Antonio.

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The partizans of Cleopatra, in the council of Antony, contending for this plan of retreat which she proposed, among other arguments against risking a battle, urged many fatal presages and signs of impending calamity, sufficient to strike a panic in the troops, and to render the flight they advised, in some measure necessary. It was determined, however, as a kind of middle course, that the fleet should put to sea; if permitted, withdraw from the enemy; but if attacked, give battle. As it was observed, that many of the ships were ill manned, and in disrepair, and some altogether unserviceable; these being selected and burnt, the remainder prepared for the sea.

When this resolution was taken, Antony called his officers together, put them in mind of the diligence with which he had made his preparations for the present war, and referred for proof to the armament itself, which was then in their view.—In a war, which was to turn on the event of naval operations, they had an undoubted superiority, he said, either in the number, or loftiness and strength of their ships.—He contrasted his own reputation, the maturity of his age, his experience, and his success, with the opposite circumstances in the description of his enemy.—He put his officers in mind, and wished them to remind the army, that they were about to contend for the empire of the world; that great as this object was, the loss of it, if they failed, was to be the least of their sufferings; that every indignity and insult was to be expected from an enemy^a, who on former occasions had shewn himself sufficiently averse to mercy. Having addressed himself in this manner to the officers who were to be left on shore, he ordered on board all those who attended him in the character of Roman citizens, or of whose inclination to the enemy

^a Dio. Cass. lib. l. c. 15—22.

he had any suspicion, and reinforced his fleet from the land army with as many archers and slingers as could ply in the ships. CHAP.
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Octavius, in the mean time, having intelligence of these deliberations and counsels, and seeing the bustle which the embarkation of so many men from the land, and the movements of ships to get into their stations, occasioned, he likewise prepared for action. In his address to the officers of his fleet, he still affected to consider Cleopatra as the principal party in the war. "Antony had condescended," he said, "to become her dependant and follower, and was now preparing, not to fight, but to accompany the queen of Egypt in her flight." In respect to the conduct of the action, he was inclined to let the enemy get under sail, and even to wait until they should have turned the promontory of Actium, thinking this would be the proper time for him to attack their rear, to pursue them in their retreat, and by these means to gain the advantage and reputation of a victory, without the hazard of a battle; but being dissuaded from this design by Agrippa, he took his resolution to meet them at the mouth of the Straits, and if he prevailed, was in hopes he might put them out of condition to renew the war. For this purpose he reinforced his fleet with as many men from the land as could conveniently act on board⁴⁹.

After both fleets were in readiness, they were detained in their harbours four days by a storm, and a high sea which set into the gulph. But on the fifth day the wind having abated, and the sea becoming smooth, Antony's fleet began to form in the Straits. He himself, with Poplicola, embarked with the first division on the right, Cælius on the left, and an officer, whom Plutarch names Marcus Octavius, with M. Justeius in the centre⁵⁰. His ships being heavier and loftier, but less active than those of Octavius, he hesitated for

⁴⁹ Dio. Cass. lib. l. c. 23—30.

⁵⁰ Plutarch. in Antonio.

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some time whether he should not remain in close order, and endeavour to bring on the action in the narrow entrance of the gulph, where his antagonists, for want of room, could not derive any great advantage from the superior agility of their vessels, or quickness of their motions.

While Antony deliberated on this matter, Octavius got under sail, turned the headland of Tornyé, and formed in a line before the entry of the Straits, about a mile from the enemy. The right division was commanded by M. Larius, the left by Aruntius, the whole by Agrippa". Both armies, at the same time, were drawn out on the shore to behold the event; but the fleets, for some time, did not make any movement, and it continued uncertain whether Antony, being still in the road, might not return to his anchors; but about noon his ships began to clear the Straits, and came forward where the sea-room was sufficient for their line. As in this movement the fleets came closer together, Agrippa began to extend his front, in order to turn the enemy's flank; but Poplicola, on the other side, to keep pace with him, stretching to the same side, the centre of both fleets was equally opened, and they engaged soon after, without any apparent advantage on either side.

The contest, for some time, remained undecided. In the beginning of the action, the queen of Egypt's yacht had been near to the line, and she herself continued to look on the battle, till, overcome with anxiety, affright, and horror, she gave orders to remove her galley to a greater distance, and being once in motion fled with all the sail she could make; her vessel being distinguished by a gilded poop and purple sails, made her flight be conspicuous to the whole fleet", and drew away from the line about sixty ships of the Egyptian squadron, who, under pretence of attending their mistress, withdrew from the action.

²¹ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 24.

²² Florus, lib. iv. c. 11.

Antony, apprehending the consequence of this defection, whether in despair of his fortunes, or in some hopes to rally those who fled, put on board of a quick sailing vessel, and endeavoured to overtake them. Being observed from Cleopatra's galley, he was taken on board; but no longer capable of any vigorous or rational purpose, he became the companion of her flight, without any attempt to rally her fleet. Although he quitted the chance of a victory to follow the object of his passions, he could not endure to behold her, turned his eyes aside, threw himself upon the deck, and continued in the deepest anguish of shame and despair.

The flight of Antony, joined to that Cleopatra, an event so little expected, was not for some time observed, and the fleet, notwithstanding the desertion of their leader, continued the action till four in the afternoon, when they were overpowered; and many of them being greatly damaged in their oars and rigging, were not in condition either to resist or to escape, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. Three hundred ships were taken or sunk, and about five thousand men were killed⁵⁴. The strand was covered with wrecks and dead bodies. Octavius detached a squadron in pursuit of such of the enemy's ships as had got to sea from the engagement, and himself continued in the channel during the remainder of the day, and the following night, to gather the fruits of his victory⁵⁵.

The land army of Antony having, from the heights on shore, beheld the ruin of their fleet, retired to their camp as with an intention to maintain it to the last extremity. They flattered themselves, that their general, though forced to yield to his enemy at sea, would make for the nearest port, and again shew himself at the head of his legions. These, they said, he never should have left to commit his fortunes to an uncertain element, and a treacherous ally. In these

⁵⁴ Plut. in Antonio. Orosius says, 12,000 were killed in battle, 6000 were wounded, of whom 1000 died under cure, lib. vi.

⁵⁵ Sueton. in Octavio.

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hopes they remained for seven days unshaken in their duty, and rejected all the offers which Octavius made to induce them to change their party. Being satisfied, however, at last, that their hopes were vain, they consulted their safety in different ways. Some laid down their arms; Canidius himself, who commanded them, withdrew in the night³⁶; others, remaining together in small parties, took the route to Macedonia; but, being pursued by the enemy, were separately overtaken, and forced or persuaded to surrender. All the Roman citizens, who had taken refuge in the eastern provinces, all the foreign allies and princes, who made a part of the vanquished army, successively made their peace³⁷; and the empire itself now seemed to be reduced under a single head.

Antony having continued his flight by the coasts of the Peloponnesus to the head of Tenarus, without appearing to recover his courage, made a halt at this place, rather from indecision and irresolution, than from any settled purpose respecting the conduct of his affairs. Here he was joined by some ships that remained in the action to the end of it; and being informed by them, that the fleet was entirely demolished, but that the army continued firm in their camp; he seemed to be revived by this last part of the account, and dispatched an order to Canidius to make the best of his way into Macedonia, and from thence to continue his march into Asia. Such of his friends as came up with him at Tenarus, he treated with his usual liberality, divided his plate and jewels among them, and gave them orders, for the supplies they might want, on the keeper of his treasure at Corinth. In performing these acts of munificence, he seemed to recover his mind, and resumed some part of his usual manner, but returning at the same time to his former habits with Cleopatra³⁸, he suffered himself again to be governed by her councils; and, in com-

³⁶ Plut. in Antonio.³⁷ Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 1.³⁸ Plut. in Antonio.

pliance with her desire, steered directly for Egypt, without making any attempt to rally his forces in Greece, or to join his army, which, in reality, by this time, had been separated, or obliged to make their peace.

The victor having entirely dispersed, or gained to his own party all the forces of his rival in Europe, sent such a part of his army into Asia as was thought necessary to finish the remains of the war, and permitted the veterans, whose turn it was to be disbanded, to return into Italy. He himself, in order that he might be at hand to observe the motions of Antony, and to renew his operations in the spring, proposed to pass the winter at Santos⁵⁹. From thence, being master of a country in which his rival had once been favourably received, he exercised his power in punishing those who had taken part against him. Many towns, by his order, were laid under heavy contributions, and deprived of their municipal privileges. All the petty princes who held their territories by grant from Antony, except Archelaus⁶⁰ and Amyntas⁶¹, were dispossessed. Alexander⁶², the son of Jamblichus, was not only stripped of his territories, but reserved in chains to make a part in the procession of the victor's triumph; and when that ceremony should be over, was doomed to die. The principality of Lycomedes⁶³ was given to a certain Mede, who had deserted from Antony, and who had brought with him a considerable body of the allies. The Cydonii⁶⁴ and Lampæi, on account of their particular services, were restored to their liberties.

Of the Roman citizens of rank, who had espoused the cause of Antony, some were pardoned, some laid under heavy fines, and others put to death⁶⁵. Among those who were pardoned, was Sotius

⁵⁹ Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 3. and 4. Sueton. in Octavio, c. 17.

⁶⁰ King of Cappadocia.

⁶¹ Of Galatia. Dio. Cass. lib. xlii. c. 32.

⁶² A prince of Arabian extraction.

⁶³ On the frontier of Pontus.

⁶⁴ The people of certain towns of Crete.

⁶⁵ Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 2.

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the late Consul, who had absconded for some time after the battle of Actium, and remained in concealment, until, by the intercession of his friends, he made his peace. With him likewise is mentioned M. Scaurus, the uterine brother of Sextus Pompeius, who had been condemned to die, but spared at the intercession of his mother. Among those who were put to death is mentioned Curio, the son of that Curio, who, in the steps which led to the civil war, acted for some time in support of the Senate, but afterwards so effectually served the ambition of Julius Cæsar⁴⁴.

While Antony, still possessed of the kingdom of Egypt, or had any means of renewing the war, it was thought expedient that Octavius in person should reside in Asia. The administration in Italy was committed to Mæcenas and Agrippa; the first intrusted with the civil, the other with the military department; but acting under orders and instructions from Cæsar, which, though in form addressed to the Senate, were previously submitted to these ministers; and, after having received such alterations and corrections as they thought proper, were likewise intrusted to their execution.

Agrippa, as has been mentioned, having borne his part in the victory at Actium, returned into Italy with a particular charge of the veterans who were now intitled to their dismissal, and to the reward of their services. He was chosen for this trust, as having sufficient authority to repress the mutinous spirit which this order of men had ever discovered as often as they were encouraged by victory to state their pretensions and to over-rate their merits. The task, however, was too arduous even for the daring courage and unblemished reputation of this officer. The troops had been told, after the late action, that, on account of the state of Cæsar's finances, the reward of their services must be deferred to the end of the war;

⁴⁴ Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 2.

such of them as were destined to act in Asia and Egypt acquiesced in this delay, expecting to enrich themselves in the mean time with the spoils of those opulent countries⁶³. But those who were sent back into Italy, expecting such settlements in that country as the veterans had formerly received, upon their arrival laid claim to immediate satisfaction, and complained that Cæsar, in employing his lieutenants to treat with them, meant to evade their just demands.

In consequence of earnest representations from Mæcenas and Agrippa, stating these discontents of the veterans as of the most dangerous tendency, Octavius, after he had determined to fix his residence at Samos for the winter, set sail for Italy in the most tempestuous season, and in his passage was twice exposed to great danger; once in doubling the headlands of the Peloponnesus, and again near to the rocks of Acroceraunus. Being arrived at Brundisium, he was met by many of the principal citizens of Rome, with the Senate and magistrates, who, having committed the government of the city to the Tribunes, were come forward to receive him, and to pay their court. He likewise found the discontented veterans still at the same place, and obstinate in their purpose of not suffering themselves to be disbanded, until they should have obtained their just gratification in money and allotments of land.

Octavius, having occasion for all the arts in which he was already so well versed, now affecting to hasten what he alleged had been only delayed to a more convenient time, proceeded to make way for these mutinous troops, by dislodging many possessors of land, on pretence that they had favoured the queen of Egypt in the late war; and, in order to provide the intended gratuities in money, he pretended to offer his own estate to sale, or proposed to pledge it as security for a loan. But no man having the courage to become either his creditor

⁶³ Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 3, 4.

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U. C. 723.
Imp. Cæs.
4to. M. Lici-
nius Crassus,
ex. Kal. Jul.
C. Antistius
Vitus, ex
Id. Sept.
M. Tul. Ci-
cero, ex Kal.
Nov. L. Ju-
nius.

or the purchaser of his estate, he represented his having made the offer as a sufficient excuse to the army for the delay which he was still obliged to make in gratifying their just requests. But the riches of Egypt, he said, now forfeited by Cleopatra, would be an ample fund for the gratification of those who forbore their demands for the present, to have them more fully complied with hereafter⁶⁸. Having, by these means, pacified the clamours of those who were most urgent; and having been, during his stay at Brundisium, vested a fourth time with the titles and ensigns of Consul, he set sail again for the coast of Asia, with intention to give Antony and Cleopatra as little time as possible to recollect themselves, or to reinstate their affairs.

These unfortunate adventurers, whose arrival at the point of Ténarus has been mentioned, steered from thence for the coast of Africa, and parted from each other near to Paretonium, a sea-port of Lybia, which had been held by the kings of Egypt, as a barrier at some distance beyond the western frontier of their kingdom. In the neighbourhood of this place, Antony expected to be received by Pinarius Scarpus, whom he had placed at the head of his forces in that quarter⁶⁹. But this officer, from whatever person he may have received his appointment, or however he may have been inclined, while the Triumvirs divided the empire, was now, by the event of the battle of Actium, sufficiently determined in the choice of his party. He had declared for Octavius, and now ordered the messengers of Antony, and all the officers under his own command, who were disposed to enter into any correspondence with the vanquished party, to be put to death.

⁶⁸ Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 4.

⁶⁹ Ibid. lib. li. c. 5. Plut. in Antonio, p. 136. Both these writers seem to under-

stand that Pinarius Scarpus had belonged to Antony, and deserted from him on this occasion.

Upon this disappointment, Antony relapsed into his former melancholy, proposed to kill himself, and was prevented only by the persuasion of a few friends, who earnestly entreated him to try his fortunes once more, at the head of the forces of Egypt²⁸.

Cleopatra, in order to outrun the news of her disaster, and to prevent the disorders that might attend the fall of her authority, made all possible haste into her own dominions. When her ships came in sight, she hoisted the ensigns of victory, and entered the harbour of Alexandria with shouts of joy and triumph. Upon her landing, she gave an order to cut off, or to secure, some persons of whose affections she was doubtful, and then acknowledging the event of her late unfortunate expedition, took measures for the defence of her kingdom. Under pretence of collecting money for this purpose, she seized the effects of corporations and of private persons, and stript the temples of their ornaments and of their treasures. But, having still upon her mind all the impressions of her late defeat, she rather looked for a retreat, to which she might fly with the money she amassed, than for a station at which to withstand her enemy. Under these impressions, she formed a project to have her fleet dragged over land, from the Nile to the gulf of Arabia, and ordered ships to be built in the ports of that sea, trusting that her enemy could not, for some time, be in condition to molest her with any naval armament in that quarter.

After this project began, in part, to be executed, the Arabs, apprehending some danger to themselves, from the preparations which appeared to be making on their coasts, demolished the docks which the queen of Egypt had ordered to be fitted up, plundered her stores, and destroyed the ships which she had already built; so that she was reduced to the necessity of making her defence on the Nile,

²⁸ Plut. in Antonio, p. 136. 4to. edit. Lond. ann. 1724. Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 5.

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and of abiding the fate which threatened her country from this side".

She had heard of Cæsar's having gone back into Italy; and from this circumstance, as well as from the difficulties of a winter navigation round the coasts of Greece, both she and Antony thought themselves secure for that season. In this, however, they were disappointed by the activity and resolution of their enemy, who, having lost no time unnecessarily at Brundisium, had, in order to avoid the difficulties of the winter-navigation, ordered some galleys to be dragged over land at the Isthmus of Corinth; and by this means, while he was yet believed to be beyond the sea of Ionia, was actually well advanced in his voyage to the Nile⁷¹. His plan was to invade the kingdom of Egypt on two sides at once; at Paretonium, on the side of Africa, by an army under the command of Cornelius Gallus; and at Pelusium, on the side of Syria, with an army which he himself was to command⁷².

Antony, upon his return to Alexandria, with the mortification of having been rejected by the Roman legions that were stationed on the frontier of the province of Africa, thinking it might strengthen his own party against that of Octavius, to point out an immediate offspring of the Julian family, and a succession of leaders to the party of Cæsar, declared Cæsarion, the reputed son of Julius Cæsar by Cleopatra, to be now of age, and qualified to enter upon the inheritance of his father. But while he exasperated Octavius by this species of personal insult, he appeared incapable of any rational plan of defence for himself or the kingdom he occupied. He even absented himself from the councils that were held on this subject, declined any share in the management of affairs, and withdrew from the palace.

⁷¹ Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 7. Zonaras, lib. x. c. 33.

⁷² Orosius, lib. vi.

⁷³ Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 5.

While

While Antony continued in this humour, he was joined by Canidius, the late commander of his land-forces at Actium. From this officer he had the melancholy account, that all his armies in Greece were dispersed; that Herod, the king of Judea, had declared against him, and all the princes he had lately placed upon different thrones in Asia had either followed this example, or been displaced; that he had not any possession, nor any certain friend beyond the limits of Egypt. Upon receiving this account, he seemed to recover from his melancholy, and acquired that species of ease which results from despair. He left his retreat, returned to the palace, and, with Cleopatra, gave himself up to dissipation, profusion, and continual riot. They formed parties of pleasure, consisting of such persons as professed their resolution to die rather than to fall into the hands of the enemy⁷⁴. Antony had an officer retained to put a period to his life in the supposed extremity in which this choice was to be made, and Cleopatra had a collection of poisons for the same purpose.

In the midst of this seeming indifference to life, both the queen and her lover, however, submitted at times to make advances to Caesar, and to sue for mercy. They dispatched their messengers together; but as Cleopatra sent, on her own account, presents of a crown, a sceptre, and a throne of gold, and privately instructed her agent to sound the disposition of Caesar with respect to herself, this crafty politician perceived that she wished to be considered apart from Antony, and encouraged her to hope for a separate treaty. While he made no reply to Antony, and in public insisted that Cleopatra herself should surrender at discretion, he, in private, encouraged the queen to hope for better terms, and even to imagine what he supposed her willing to believe, that she might still make some impression on his mind by the charms of her person.

⁷⁴ Plut. in Antonio.

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As Octavius had an agent at the court of Egypt to insinuate these hopes, and to cultivate the disposition which the queen had shown to a separate treaty, Antony became jealous of the frequent conferences to which this agent was admitted, and ordered him to be whipped, and expelled from the court. Sensible, however, of the enormity of this outrage, he wrote to Octavius soon after to make an apology. "My misfortunes," he said, "have made me peevish, and this fellow had provoked me; but you may take your revenge on the person of my agent, who is with you." In the subsequent part of this letter, he put Octavius in mind of their former intimacy, of their near relation, of their parties of pleasure, or rather debaucheries; and observed, that his frolics with Cleopatra did not deserve to be more seriously treated, than affairs of the same kind in which they had passed some idle hours together. He, at the same time, delivered up P. Turvilius, a Roman Senator, who had been supposed accessory to the death of Julius Cæsar, and who had, for some time, been attached to himself; and he concluded his letter with some expressions of magnanimity, saying, That he was willing to die, provided he could obtain any favourable terms for the queen of Egypt⁷³.

Octavius however continued inexorable; and urging his military operations on both frontiers of the kingdom of Egypt; got possession of Pelusium and of Paretonium; of the first, it was said, in consequence of his intrigues with Cleopatra, and by her connivance; of the second, by the intire defection of the troops which Antony had stationed for the defence of the place, and who now became an accession to the army of his rival.

Cleopatra, as if sensible of the suspicions she had incurred on the surrender of Pelusium, and desirous to recover the confidence of Antony, doubled her attention to his person, kept the anniversary of

⁷³ Dio, Cass. lib. li, c. 9.

his birth-day with unusual splendor; and, to remove any suspicion of her having connived at the loss of Pelusium, delivered up the officer of the name of Seleucus, who had surrendered that place, that he might atone for his treachery by a suitable punishment.

Antony, observing the progress which his enemy made on the frontiers of the kingdom, and being weary of the project of ending his life in a riot, took a better resolution, and mustering what forces he could, both by sea and by land, was determined to try the fortune of a war, or to die, at least, sword in hand. When the enemy advanced to Alexandria, he attacked their cavalry, and put them to flight. Encouraged by his success in this encounter, he ordered all his forces to assemble on the first of August¹⁶. On this day he proposed to bring the contest to a decision, at once, both by sea and by land¹⁷: but the Egyptian fleet being ordered to begin the action, struck their colours, and surrendered themselves without a blow. The cavalry, at the same time, deserted to the enemy; and the infantry being routed, fled into the city.

Upon this dispersion of all his forces, Antony complained, that he was betrayed, and was heard to accuse the queen. This unhappy author of his misfortunes had taken refuge, during the action, with a few attendants, in the monument which, upon a plan of great magnificence, was then recently built for a royal sepulchre. Thither she had already transported all her jewels, money, and most valuable effects. The access of the place was contrived to be shut from within, in such a manner as not to be opened without great labour¹⁸. It was given out, that the queen had retired in order to kill herself at the tomb, in which she was to be buried; and soon after, the report was spread that she was actually dead.

¹⁶ Orosius, lib. vi. p. 268.

¹⁷ Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 10.

¹⁸ Plut. in Antonio.

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Antony, being now arrived at the end of all his hopes, and of his efforts, made haste to follow the supposed example of the queen, and gave his sword, for this purpose, to Eros, a freed slave, who had promised to use it when required in the last action of friendship to his master; but Eros, unable to fulfil his promise, instead of killing his master, plunged the sword into his own bosom. Antony then snatching the weapon, wounded himself; but not expiring immediately, he was told, as he lay bleeding, that Cleopatra was yet alive, and safe in the monument. Seeming to revive at these tidings, he gave directions that he should be carried to her presence. Upon his coming, she appeared on the battlements; but under pretence that she feared a surprise, refused to have the gates unbarred, and made it necessary to have him towed over the walls. Although she had wished to disengage herself from this unfortunate man, and had even submitted to betray him, now when she saw him laid at her feet expiring⁷⁹, and covered with his blood, she beat her breast, and tore her hair in the agonies of real suffering, mixed with the affectation of pretended passion.

Antony, having somewhat in his mind which he wished to express, called for wine, recovered strength enough to utter a few words, and expired⁸⁰; thus ending his life in the fifty-third, or, according to others, in the fifty-sixth year of his age⁸¹; disposed, even in the last scenes of it, to occupy the intervals of relaxation in riot and debauchery; and verifying, in all the steps of his manhood and age, the charge of extravagance and profligacy, which marked his youth, and his first appearances in public affairs. He was possessed of talents for the council and the field, which he never exerted for any valuable purpose, or rather never exerted at all, except when he was pressed by the most urgent necessity of his situation. Under this pressure, indeed,

⁷⁹ Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 10.⁸⁰ Zonar. lib. x. c. 30.⁸¹ Plut. in Antonio.

he sometimes repaired by his industry and vigour the breaches which were made by his dissipation or neglect. In consequence of his connection with Julius Cæsar, and of the place he gained among the military factions, which endeavoured to engross or to divide his power, he was tempted to consider the Roman empire itself as the scene of his pleasures; and, in aiming at the sovereignty of the world, experienced those reverses which fully displayed the versatility and instability of his own character. But he fell, at last, deserted by every Roman citizen who had ever been attached to his interest; betrayed by that person to whose caprices chiefly he sacrificed his fortunes, and under the fatal experience, that the utmost efforts of resolution, incited by the sense of extreme necessity, will not always retrieve the errors of past dissipation and folly.

When Antony gave himself the wound of which he died, one of his attendants, extracting the dagger from his body, ran with it to Octavius, who, seeing the weapon stained with blood, and being told what had passed, perhaps in imitation of Julius Cæsar, who is said to have wept for the death of Pompey, was observed to shed tears". Suetonius reports that he afterwards desired to see the body".

Cleopatra, as soon as the scene in the monument was over, and she had recollected herself, sent an intimation of Antony's death to Cæsar, and then probably indulged her hopes, that the great obstacle to her peace being removed, she might obtain that consideration for her separate interests, which Octavius, by insinuations, or expressions of civility, had given her cause to expect.

After the late contest was, in a great measure, decided, the victor continued to encourage the queen of Egypt to hope for a separate treaty; and amused her with civilities, while he endeavoured to inform himself of her treasure, and to make sure of her as a captive to adorn his triumph, a circumstance esteemed of

²² Plut. in Antonio.

²³ Sueton. in Octav. c. 17.

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the highest importance at Rome ; but he had avoided coming under any engagements that should preclude him from the full use of his victory. Upon receiving her message, he sent Caius Protulcius, a Roman Knight, and Epaphroditus, an emancipated slave, to soothe her fears, to administer comfort, and, if possible, without stipulating any conditions, to secure her person.

What Octavius chiefly apprehended from the unfortunate queen, was some violent attempt on her own life. His emissaries, therefore, having suffered her, at her own earnest request, to remain where she was until the funeral of Antony should be over ; they made a strict search, in order to remove from her hands every weapon, or supposed instrument of death ; and, under pretence of doing her honour, placed a guard on the monument. They prevailed upon her afterwards to remove to the palace, where she was attended with the usual state and dignity of a sovereign²⁴. But being still kept at a distance from Cæsar, and in suspense with respect to his intentions, she expressed great anxiety, and seemed to meditate some desperate purpose. In order to divert her from any fatal resolution, which might deprive Cæsar's triumph of a principal ornament, she was told, that he consented to see her, and was to make her a visit in her own apartments. Upon this intimation, she ordered the chambers to be fitted up in the most elegant manner, and decorated, in particular, with the picture and bust of Julius Cæsar. When the expected visit of Octavius was to be paid, she took care to have bundles of the late Cæsar's letters and memorials before her. She herself was dressed in mourning, which she knew was supposed, at all times, to become her, and which, on this occasion, might give an expression of tender melancholy that rendered her person and her state more affecting. When Octavius presented himself she rose from her couch ; but, as if overawed by his

²⁴ Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 12.

presence, with an air of modesty and dejection, fixed her eyes on the ground. In accosting him, she called him Master. "To his father," she said, "she owed all her fortunes, and now willingly resigned them to the son. The memory of the great Julius should be a sufficient comfort in all her afflictions; she would even consider him as revived in the person of his son. But would to God," she said, bursting into tears, "that I had died before him, so should I have escaped the evils which his death, and the consequences of it have brought upon me!" Octavius bid her be of good courage; and assured her, that no hurt was intended her. But she observing, that he spoke these words with coldness, and turned his eyes away, threw herself upon the ground in agonies of despair. "I neither wish," she said, "nor can I continue to live. I should have died when Cæsar fell; and there is another now who calls upon me to follow him; suffer me to rest with him on whose account I die."

This interview concluded with a request on the part of the queen, that she might be allowed to perform the obsequies of Antony, to which she proceeded with all the appearances of an affectionate widow in the deepest affliction; but as there is no doubt, that she had betrayed the person whom she now appeared so much to lament, it is probable that her tears, though pretended to be shed on account of the dead, were, in reality, directed to move and to win his surviving rival. She still trusted to the effects of her beauty, and was, in her present situation, what she had been in the most serious councils of State, a mere coquette, who, being naturally disposed to violent passions, could personate any character, or turn her real passions to account in serving any disguised purpose of vanity or ambition.

¹¹ Dio. Cass. lib. xli. c. 12.

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The scene which Cleopatra acted on the present occasion, in whatever degree she was possessed by real or affected despair, had no other effect on Octavius, than to make him redouble his attention to prevent any attempt which she might intend to make against her own life. Epaphroditus had orders to watch her with great diligence; a circumstance from which she had the sagacity to infer a fixed determination to carry her as a captive to Rome. She was soon confirmed in her suspicions; having intelligence, that Octavius himself, being to march by land, had given orders that she, with her children, should be sent into Italy by sea. Equally anxious to avoid being led in triumph, as the victor was desirous to preserve her for this purpose, she instantly took measures to end her life. But in order to elude the vigilance of her keeper, she affected to be resigned to her fate, gave an inventory, and delivered up all her effects, reserving only a few jewels, which she professed an intention to deliver with her own hands, in presents, to Livia and Octavia. She even affected to dress in her usual gay and sumptuous manner; and pretending to have some business of consequence to communicate to Cæsar, she gave Epaphroditus a letter, and charged him to deliver it with his own hands. It contained expressions of exultation at having obtained her end, and having escaped from her enemies.

Octavius, on seeing this letter, instantly gave orders to prevent what he apprehended was her purpose; but the queen, at the arrival of the messenger, was already dead, and laid upon a couch of state. One of the women, who usually attended her, was likewise dead; the other was expiring; but while the messenger of Octavius was entering the chamber, observing that the crown had fallen from her mistress's head, she made an effort, with what strength she had left, to replace it. No mark of violence appeared on the body of the queen, except a small puncture in her arm; and she was therefore supposed to have died of a venomous bite, or of a scratch with
a poisoned

a poisoned instrument. To render the last of these conjectures the more probable, it was said, that she always carried a pin in her hair, the point of which was tainted with poison. She was now at the age of nine-and-thirty years, and of these had lived fourteen years with Antony.

Octavius, being disappointed of his design to lead the queen of Egypt as a captive in his triumph, had her effigy, with an aspick fixed upon the arm, fabricated to supply her place in the procession. He no longer kept any measures with her family or kingdom. Cæsarion her son, supposed by Julius Cæsar, and of course a pretended heir to Cæsar's fortunes, had too high pretensions to be spared; endeavouring to make his escape into Ethiopia, he was taken in his flight, and killed. Antyllas, the son of Antony by Fulvia, being of an age to receive impressions which might render him dangerous, was likewise sacrificed to the safety of the conqueror. He had taken refuge at the shrine of Julius Cæsar, but was forced from thence, and slain. The other children, whether of Cleopatra, or of Antony, were spared, and honourably treated. Those of the latter, by Octavia, being near relations of Cæsar, and afterwards intermarried with the reigning family, left a posterity who succeeded to the empire²².

Among the partizans of the vanquished party who were ordered for execution, only two or three Romans of note are mentioned: Canidius, who had commanded the land-forces of Antony at Actium, and who still adhered to him in the wreck of his fortunes; Cassius Parmensis, a man of letters and a poet, who had been attached to Brutus and Cassius, but, having employed his wit against Octavius, was received by Antony, and lived with him in great intimacy; and Ovinus, who, having been a Roman Senator, is said to have degraded himself by taking charge of the manufactures which were carried on in the palace of the queen of Egypt.

²² Sueton. in Octav. c. 17. Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 19. Plut. in Antonio.

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In limiting the severity of his executions to these examples, Octavius appeared greatly to restrain the cruelty which he had formerly exercised against his enemies; he, at the same time, gave proofs of his munificence, by releasing all those who were in custody at Alexandria whether as prisoners of state, as captives, or hostages from foreign nations²⁶.

²⁶ Orosius, p. 269. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 87.

THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PROGRESS AND TERMINATION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

The Merit or Demerit of Parties in the later Period of the Roman Republic.—Return of Octavius to Rome.—His triumphs and public Entertainments.—Reform of the Army.—Proposition to resign his Power.—Consultation of Agrippa and Mæcenæ.—Preludes to the pretended Resignation of Octavius.—His Speech in the Senate.—His consent to retain a Part in the Government of the Empire.—Distribution of the Provinces.—Title of Augustus.—The Establishment of Augustus.

ALTHOUGH, in compiling this History, it has been intended to avoid expressions of mere praise and blame, other than are contained in the detail of facts and specification of characters; and to state, in every instance, the transaction itself, rather than the judgment

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judgment of the writer ; yet it is hoped that where questions of merit or demerit are in any considerable degree problematical, and where readers are likely to take opposite sides, he too may be indulged in some general discussion.

We may suppose the Roman republic to have been hastening to its ruin from the sedition of Tiberius Gracchus, to the times on which we are now entered. A great revolution has been so long in dependence, and more blood has been shed in an age of boasted learning and politeness, than perhaps has been known to flow in any equal period of the most barbarous times.

In judging of those who were concerned in this transaction, we may form our opinions now upon speculative considerations, as they themselves joined their party from motives of interest, ambition, or public virtue. Although it be allowed that, in point of justice, we must give a preference to those who endeavoured to preserve the constitution of their country, and who acted merely in defence of themselves and their fellow-citizens ; yet in this instance it will be alleged, that the event has had the effect of an experiment, to show that what they strove to perform was impracticable, and that notwithstanding the justice of their cause, the circumstances of the times were such as to have rendered their success not only desperate, but in a great measure inexpedient. They were born to a republic, it is true ; but the people who were destined to govern in that republic could no longer be safely intrusted with government ; and to contend for such a trust in behalf of men who were unworthy of it, was a dangerous error, for which the best intentions could not atone. Even the Roman Senate itself could not supply all the exigencies of government over a dominion of such extent, and containing so many sources of corruption. Its own members were degenerated, and fallen from the virtue of their ancestors. They were trained up in a luxury at home, which was to be supplied by the most cruel rapacity abroad,

abroad in the provinces. Such an empire could be preserved only by the force and prompt executions of despotism. The change therefore from republic to monarchy, it may be alleged, was seasonable; and Cato, with Cicero, Brutus, and all the other partizans of the commonwealth, actuated by a mistaken, though commendable zeal for liberty, would have supported their fellow-citizens in their pretensions to government after they were unworthy of it; in this attempt fell a necessary sacrifice to their own error; and in their ruin made way for an establishment better fitted for the condition of the age, and to the character of the people, than that for which they contended and bled.

In this manner of stating the subject, we lay the task of vindicating their own conduct on those who endeavoured to preserve, not upon those who destroyed, the republic. But in judging of the merits of men in so distant a scene, we must not proceed on conceptions drawn from the experience of subsequent ages, on our own predilection for monarchy in general, or even on our judgment of its expedience in that particular case; we must suppose ourselves in the situation of those who acted, and who, in the result of this contest, from the condition of equals, were to become master and servant, or lord and vassal. One party strove that they should be masters, the other that they themselves should not be slaves. The latter contended for the rights, which, together with their fellow-citizens, they had inherited, as Romans; they endeavoured to preserve the manners, as well as the institutions, of their country, against the destroyers of both. The other party, at first, under pretence of zeal for higher measures of popular government than those they enjoyed, endeavoured to corrupt the people whom they meant to enslave; and having, upon plausible pretences, got possession of the sword, they turned it against the established government of their country. Neither of those parties, probably, stated the speculative question which

we may now be inclined to discuss, whether republic or monarchy was best accommodated to the Roman State in the height of its dominion, and in the full tide of luxury?

The wise, the courageous, and the just alone are intitled to power; the innocent alone are intitled to freedom. But they who are not conscious of having forfeited their right to either, are undoubtedly justifiable in persisting to maintain it. The virtuous who resign their freedom, at the same time resign their virtue, or at least yield up that condition which is required to preserve it. Citizens who were born to inherit this condition, and who had the courage to harbour and to cherish that elevation of mind which belongs to it, were intitled to maintain for themselves the post of honour to the last, and must for ever receive from those who respect integrity and magnanimity the tribute of esteem, even of tenderness, which is due to their memory.

If ever there was a body of men fit to govern the world, it was the Roman Senate, composed of citizens who had passed through the higher offices of State, who had studied the affairs of their country in the execution of its councils, and in the command of its armies; and it will for ever be remembered, in behalf of those who wished to preserve its authority, that if their removal from the scene on which they acted was expedient or seasonable, it was so because that scene was become unworthy of their presence.

Some of the characters, indeed, that appeared in this cause, may require a separate treatment. In that of Cato, virtue was the result of a decisive and comprehensive reflection. To him rectitude of conduct was in itself, without regard to consequences, the supreme object of desire and pursuit. His penetration, as well as courage, in the early endeavours he made, and in the manly steadiness with which he persisted to oppose the designs of Cæsar and Pompey, while others wavered, and either did not perceive their intention, or tamely

submitted to them, gave him a striking superiority over his contemporaries. He is represented by Cicero, in some instances, as retaining his inflexibility, when some degree of compliance was more likely to preserve the republic. The same censure has been repeated by others; but Cato was present to the scene, had no by-views to mislead him, and there is not any reason to prefer the judgment of those who censure him to his own. Cicero temporised, made the experiment of what compliance on some occasions could effect, and even flattered himself that he had gained the affections of Cæsar and Pompey to the republic, by giving way to the arts which they employed to destroy it.

The fellow-sufferers of Cato, in the same cause of the republic, were persons of a different character from himself. To him virtue was the end, to them it was the means which they employed for the attainment of their end, and they measured advantages by the success of their pursuits. Cato possessed independence in the courage and resolution of his own mind; they sought for it in the institutions of their country; they wished to preserve their own rights, and would yield them to no individual or set of men whatever. This character is indeed in a high degree meritorious; no more is required to form an excellent citizen, and no more was required but the prevalence or frequency of such a character at Rome to have preserved, and even to have reformed, that sickly and perishing constitution of government.

The natural antidote of vice is restraint and correction; but in great disorders, and where the system itself is corrupted, what is

* The impression of Cato's character remained so deep with posterity, as well as with the immediate witnesses of his conduct, that no authority on the part of those who wished to traduce him had any effect. It is remarkable, that even the authority of the Cæsars did not silence those who in other instances submitted to flatter them, nor prevent their joining in the praises of Cato.

Virgil and Horace, though courtiers, could not be restrained on this subject. Vid. *Eneid*. lib. viii. ver. 670. *Hor.* lib. i. od. 12. He was revered, it has been said, rather as a good than as a great man; but mankind do not revere without an opinion of great ability, as well as benevolent intention. Vid. Lord Bolingbroke's *Patriot King*.

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applied for a remedy is sometimes an evil, as well as the disease. They who peruse the history of Rome, under the continued effects of a revolution, which is now accomplished or fast approaching, will find no cause to congratulate the world, on its having escaped from the factions of Clodius and Milo, to incur the evils that arose under Caius and Nero.

The impossibility of preserving the republic, or its unfitness to remain at the head of so great an empire, is no doubt the most plausible excuse which is made for its subversion; but this apology neither Cæsar nor Pompey was intitled to make for himself. Cæsar affected a zeal for popular government, and Pompey strove to inflame all its evils, in order to render himself necessary to the aristocracy. Cæsar fomented political troubles, in order to weaken the hands of the Senate, or in order to find a pretence to make war upon them; and at last, under the shew of releasing the people from the tyranny of that body, drew that sword with which he accomplished the ruin of of both.

The Senate indeed had many difficulties to encounter; that of protecting the provinces from oppression, in which many of their own members were concerned; that of restraining the tumults and disorders of a licentious people, led by different factions, desirous of change, or impatient of government; and that of conducting a pretended popular assembly, in whom the legislation and sovereignty of the empire was nominally vested. It is, however, difficult to judge how far so able a council, while they themselves remained in any degree uncorrupted, might not have found antidotes, or at least temporary expedients, to resist every other evil, if they had not been so ably attacked as they were by the first Cæsar and Pompey, who joined interests together, to break down the defences of a fortress, which they afterwards severally intended to occupy.

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The ordinary train of affairs at Rome; the substitution of tumults for regular assemblies of the People; the practice of committing the provinces, with so many resources, and the command of such armies, with so little controul, to the discretion of ambitious citizens; the dangerous powers which accompanied the higher offices of State, without any check upon those who were inclined to abuse those powers, the easy recourse which persons of dangerous pretensions, when rejected by the Senate, had to popular riots, under the denomination of Comitia, or Assemblies of the People, made the destruction of the commonwealth in some measure necessary.

With such citizens as the Gracchi, as Apuleius, as Marius and Cinna, Clodius and Milo, it was difficult to preserve a republic; but with such citizens as Cæsar and Pompey, it was altogether impossible; or rather the republic may be considered as at an end from the time it was in their power to dispose of it.

The first class of these adventurers were misled by their passions, or fell into the vices of their situation. They endeavoured to rule by popular tumults or military force, and when they could not pervert the ordinary forms of the State to their purpose, employed violence to set them aside; but even in this, by their mutual opposition, they preserved a kind of balance, in which the freedom of the commonwealth seemed to remain.

Pompey and Cæsar promoted systematically all the evils to which their country was exposed. They had recourse to the populace for grants which the Senate refused; they prolonged the term of provincial appointments, which were sufficiently dangerous, however short; they united together powers that were sufficiently dangerous when separate; united the command of armies in the provinces with the authority of office at Rome; and, instead of suspending the fate of the commonwealth by their mutual obstructions to each other, hastened its ruin by concerting together their measures against it; leaving

leaving the decision of their respective claims, till after they had rendered the republic a necessary prey to the one or the other.

Pompey for some time thought himself in actual possession of the monarchy; Cæsar, in the mean time, provided the most effectual means to ravish it from him. To state the difficulty of preserving the republic in such hands, as an excuse for their having destroyed it, were to offer the character of criminals as an excuse for their crimes. When the highwaymen are abroad, the traveller must be robbed; but this is not an excuse for the crime. Cæsar and Pompey are blamed, not because the republic had an end, but because they themselves were the evils by which it perished.

The necessity of submitting, at least for a time, to the government of single men, had been repeatedly experienced by the Romans, and was so in the highest degree at the times to which these observations refer; but this will not justify the pretensions of every profligate person who may affect to place himself in the station of sovereign. If upon this ground Cato and Brutus were to be blamed for resisting the power of Cæsar; the last, in his turn, must be blamed for resisting the power of Pompey and other citizens, in their respective ages, for rejecting the advances which were made by Marius, Cinna, Cataline, and other profligate adventurers, who attempted to place themselves at the head of the empire.

Of the two Cæsars, the first possessed the talent of influencing, of gaining, and employing men to his purpose, beyond any other person that is known in the history of the world; but it is surely not for the good of mankind that he should be admired in other respects. To admire even his clemency, is to mistake policy and cunning for humanity. The second Cæsar, in the part which he acted against the republic, is in many respects more excusable than the first. He entered the scene when the piece was much farther advanced,

advanced, when his countrymen had submitted to monarchy, under the title of a perpetual Dictatorship, and when he himself was considered as the heir of a person who had possessed this pre-eminence. He was therefore at least nearer to the condition of a hereditary prince, who may be allowed to consider sovereignty as his birth-right, and who, however he may be disposed to promote the good of mankind, has a right to maintain his own station, and may be supposed to acquit himself sufficiently of his duty, by making a proper use of his power, without being under any obligation to resign it, or to admit of improper encroachments upon the estate to which he is born.

The first Cæsar strove against those who endeavoured to preserve their own rights and those of their country; the second, although he succeeded to the same quarrel, and actually paid no respect to the republic, more than was necessary to cover his design against it, yet appears, more than the first, in the light of a person who strove only with the rivals of his own ambition, and with his competitors for the succession of his uncle and adoptive father, who, having declared him the heir of his fortune, gave him a pretence to support the pre-eminence he himself had gained.

This apology, nevertheless, though more powerful in its application to the case of the second Cæsar than to that of the first, is very imperfect in its application to either. If Octavius had been educated under any impressions of hereditary right to the sovereignty of the Roman republic, the fate of the person from whom he derived his supposed right, and the subsequent, though temporary, re-establishment of the commonwealth, which he witnessed, and which he pretended to approve, were sufficient to have undeceived him, and to have taught him the part which he had to act as a Roman citizen, and the modesty with which he ought to have waited for the legal age and the constitutional election, in order to obtain those offices of
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State to which, in common with the other citizens of Rome, his condition no doubt highly intitled him.

Octavius, however, is not perhaps to be tried so much in the capacity of a Roman citizen born to the republic, as in that of leader of a party, born at a time when the competition for superiority was general, and when sovereignty or death were the alternatives to be chosen by persons of such rank and pretensions as his own. In this capacity he effected what his grand-uncle and adoptive father had taught him to aim at; the suppression of civil government, and the removal of all his own competitors for power.

As Pompey, with Cato and the principal supporters of the Senate, had sunk under the first Cæsar; so Brutus, Cassius, and the other restorers of the commonwealth, with the last of the family of Pompey, sunk under Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus; and the two last, in their turn, having sunk under Octavius, this successful adventurer now remains sole commander of all the armies of the republic, and sole master of all its provinces, from the banks of the Euphrates to the sea of Britain. And the contest for this mighty sovereignty being now at least decided, it remains that we observe what new form the world is to receive under the dominion of its master, or what mighty harvest is to be reaped by him who is in possession of the field, and who is now enabled to gather what so many heroes had sown or planted, and what so many pretenders to the same object would have ravished or torn from each other.

This able adventurer having, in other situations, conducted his affairs with so much discretion, as well as enterprise, continued in his present elevation to exercise the same profitable virtues. In the severities which he had formerly practised against those who opposed him, there was sufficient evidence of a cruel and sanguinary nature²,

² See the History of the Proscription, and his attendance at the sacrifices or executions done at Perugia. Sueton. in Octav. c. 15.

and it were monstrous to suppose that the murders which were perpetrated by his order, or with his consent, could be justified by the necessity of affairs in which his engaging at all was criminal. But as the horror of Sylla's cruelties, still remaining in the minds of the people, was a great bar to the success of any similar usurpation, and suggested to Julius Cæsar, in the beginning of his career, an opposite course of clemency and mercy; so the fate of this last adventurer, who, after having shown mercy to many of his opponents, fell at last by the hands of those he had spared, probably suggested to the Triumvirate the necessity of securing themselves before they affected the reputation of mercy, and, as we shall see, suggested to this heir of Cæsar the caution not to affront, so directly as the other had done, that republican spirit, whose effects he had occasion to dread.

Octavius, though inferior to his uncle in the capacity of a soldier, being equally master of every necessary artifice, had recourse to the use of clemency when it suited the state of his affairs. His steps became gradually less bloody, from the first fatal proscription to the last victory which he obtained over Antony; and in this he reversed the order that was observed by the first Cæsar, beginning to affect moderation in a period of the war, corresponding to that in which the military executions of the other were observed to have become more decisive and bloody.

In the whole management of the contest with Antony, Octavius had conducted himself with a singular address. Stating himself as a Roman Consul merely, he discontinued the power of Triumvir in his own person, in order to strip his antagonist likewise of that character. To avoid appearances which might divide any part of the Roman People against him, he overlooked Antony entirely in the pretended quarrel with the queen of Egypt, or he affected to consider him as a person under some fatal delusion, and in hazard of becoming

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a traitor to his own country, from his attachment to a stranger and an artful woman. The war was declared against the queen of Egypt alone, and, like any other foreign war, was undertaken by Octavius in the capacity of Roman Consul, and with an observance of all the usual forms of the commonwealth.

Octavius was remarkable for employing disguises, which, though too thin to conceal the truth, furnished his own party, at least, with a pretence for supporting him, and considerably helped him forwards in the execution of all his designs. Affecting to be no more than Consul, or ordinary magistrate, he exercised the power of a master, or military usurper, in the western provinces; and hastened, by the reduction of Egypt, and the suppression of his rivals who had taken refuge in that kingdom, to make himself equally sovereign in the East. In the absence of this Consul the affairs of State in the capital were not permitted, as usual, to devolve on his nominal colleague, nor, in the absence of both Consuls, to devolve on the officer that was next in rank; but were in the hands of Mæcenas, a person known for the minister or confidant of Octavius, without any other rank or title of office in the commonwealth. These circumstances were sufficient to discredit the professions which he continued to make of his zeal for the constitution of the republic; but when it is convenient for parties to be deceived, they shut their eyes upon every circumstance which tends to expose the deception.

It was not indeed necessary at present that the People should be imposed upon, in order to enable the head of the army to reign with an absolute sway in Italy and over all the western provinces. As the troops who were actually under arms looked forward to their general for future provisions and settlements, so the veterans, then established in the country, looked up to him as the guardian of their property, and considered his power as the principal security of what they possessed. If it were necessary, in this case, to preserve the appearances of

of civil government, in order to conciliate the minds of the citizens, it was equally necessary to preserve the reality of absolute power, in order to gratify the army, and in order to continue to the veterans the principal security by which they held their lands. And this wary politician accommodated himself, with uncommon discernment, to the feelings or prejudices of both.

The superior address of Octavius, in the contest with Antony, gave continual presages of victory on his side; and from the beginning of the war to its final decision at Actium, and to the last close of the scene in Egypt, partizans were continually passing from the losing to the winning side. Upon the reduction of Egypt, the victor, though pretending to act in the capacity of Roman Consul, did not, as in former times, refer to the Senate the arrangements to be made in his conquest; nor did he wait the formality of a commission from Rome to authorising him to settle the province. He named a governor, and gave orders for the repair of all the public works, which, on account of their effect in distributing the inundations of the Nile, made, in that kingdom, a great and important object of State, and by their being neglected in the late troubles, had occasioned much distress.

The kingdom of Egypt was a principal granary for the supply of Italy, and it is probable that its consequence had been severely felt in the late interruption of its exports. Octavius therefore took measures to secure his possession of a country, by which he observed that the state of Italy and the capital of the empire might be greatly affected. He deprived the Egyptians of all the forms of their monarchy; and, in order to efface the memory of their national independence, and to discontinue pretensions which the inhabitants of Alexandria used to support by tumults and revolts, he abolished all their public assemblies and national councils. He forbade the resort of Egyptian nobles to Rome, and of Roman Senators to Egypt.

As there was reason to apprehend that there might still exist, under the ruins of this late opulent monarchy, or under the remains of Antony's party there, some sparks of fire which the ambition or intrigues of any considerable partizan might kindle into a flame, he chose for governor Cornelius Gallus, a person of equestrian rank and moderate pretensions, not likely to harbour ambitious designs; and made it a rule to have similar qualifications in future governors, and to perpetuate the other parts of an establishment which he now made, for the preservation of so important a territory, and the government of so factious a people.

While Octavius made these arrangements in Egypt, he secured a great treasure, of which a considerable part was found in the coffers of the late queen, and part arose from the contributions which he himself imposed on the city of Alexandria and other parts of the kingdom. And being, from these funds, prepared to acquit himself of the pecuniary engagements he had come under to the army, and enabled to make donations to the populace of Rome, whose favour was necessary for him in the further prosecution of his designs, he set out on his return to Italy; but having stopt in the island of Samos, while the army in separate divisions was moving to the westward, he passed the winter at this place, deferring his arrival at Rome until the troops should be assembled, and every other circumstance prepared for the triumphal entries he meant to make into the capital.

During his stay in Samos, the neighbouring towns and provinces vied with each other in demonstrations of submission to his person, and of zeal for his cause. The inhabitants of Pergamus and Nicomedia made offer of divine honours to himself; and petitioned for leave to erect a temple for the purpose of performing these honours. Those of Ephesus and Nicæa, as being more modest or more delicate in their flattery, directed this compliment to his adoptive father, the

late Cæsar, to whom, together with Roma, considered as joint deities, they proposed to erect a shrine and a temple.

CHAP
I.

In Italy, at the same time, similar or more important tributes of adulation and servility were paid to the victor. At Rome, all the honours with which the republic had been accustomed to reward the eminent service of her citizens, had been for some time lavished on those who were most successful in subverting her government; and these honours were now heaped on Octavius with a profusion proportioned to the ascendant he had gained by the suppression of all his competitors. The statues which had been erected to his rival Mark Antony were broken down, and the name of Marcus for ever forbid in that family: as if the extinction of this rival were an end of every war, notwithstanding that many hostile nations were yet in arms on the frontiers of the empire, the gates of Janus were ostentatiously shut, and Octavius declared to be the restorer of peace to the world. A triumphal arch was erected at Brundisium, on the spot where it was supposed he was to set his foot on shore. The anniversaries of his birth and of his victories were to be celebrated for ever as days of thanksgiving, and his name was to be inserted in the hymns or public prayers which were statedly sung, or offered up for the safety of the commonwealth.

On the first of January, while Octavius was still at Samos, he being admitted a fifth time into the office of Consul, the Senate and People took an oath of allegiance, or, in words more nearly corresponding to the terms of their language, took an oath to observe his acts and decrees. They declared him Tribune of the People for an unlimited time, and extended the powers of this office beyond the usual bounds of the city. They ordained, that from thenceforward the appeals usually made to the People should be made to Cæsar alone, and that in criminal judgments, what was called the vote of Minerva, an act of grace provided for the pardon of criminals when condemned:

U. C. 724.
Imper. Cæsar
510. Sext.
Apuleius, ex
Kal. Julii
Polit. Valer.
Messala.

demned only by a single vote of majority, should from thenceforward be ascribed to him, and consequently be termed, the Mercy, or the Vote of Cæsar¹.

The precipitancy with which the Roman Senate and People now rushed into servitude, had probably no mixture of that sullen design with which the partizans of the republic had prepared the first Cæsar for his fate. The retainers of the victorious party raised the cry of adulation, and they were followed, in expressions of servility, by persons who wished to recommend themselves in the most early advances, or who dreaded being marked out for resentment in case they appeared to be tardy in expressing their zeal. But what, under established monarchy, may be considered as the duty and the loyalty of subjects to their sovereign, and like filial affection, though sometimes partial and misplaced, is always a virtue, and salutary to mankind, in such rapid transitions, from the pretensions of citizens to the submission of slaves, is a mortifying example of the weakness and depravity to which human nature is exposed.

The apparent servility of all orders of men under the usurpation of Julius Cæsar, probably inspired that security which gave the conspirators such an advantage against him. The example, however, put Octavius, though less exposed, much more on his guard; and may serve to account for many of the precautions he took, and for many of the forms he observed, in the sequel of his government. He had occasion, indeed, to experience, in his own person, that his precautions were not altogether unnecessary. In the midst of the late demonstrations of joy for his victory, there were still a few who whetted their swords in secret against him, as the cause of their public degradation, and the author of their private wrongs. Lepidus, the son of the late degraded Triumvir, and nephew of Marcus Brutus

¹ Dio. Cass. lib. xxxi.

by his sister Junia, incited probably by this domestic example, and by so many motives of a private and public nature, had procured some accomplices, and was preparing to cut short the usurpation of Octavius on his return to Rome. But this design, no way justified by any considerations of prudence or public utility, was defeated by the vigilance of Mæcenas, and ended in the execution of the young Lepidus, and in the imprisonment of his mother Junia, who remained in confinement until she was admitted to bail, at the humble request of her husband, the late Triumvir and associate in the empire with Octavius and Antony, and who, to the other marks of the humiliation which he now endured, joined that of being overlooked even by those who were supposed to have suffered by his tyranny*.

Octavius having, by his stay in the island of Samos, disconcerted the effect of this conspiracy, and given sufficient time for the transportation of his army, and the other apparatus of his triumph into Italy, set out for that country, and in his way visited the scene of his late victory at Actium. At this place, Apollo being the principal object of worship, he had immediately, after the action, selected from the captures a galley of each rate to be placed as an offering to the god; and at Toryné, on the opposite side of the Straits, where his own army had been stationed before the engagement, he directed a city to be raised under the name of Nicopolis†.

The conqueror, upon his arrival at Rome, was received by Politus, who had succeeded to the office of Consul at the resignation of Apuleius, and who, though now his colleague, dropped the pretension to equality, and performed the sacrifices of thanksgiving which had been appointed for his safe return. Octavius hitherto, either by the

* Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 88. Liv. Epi.

† Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 1. Sueton. in Octav. c. 18.

nature of the wars in which he had been engaged, or by the event of them, had not been intitled to a triumph; or being, by his temper and great caution, averse to ostentation, he had neglected to avail himself of this honour. But though he himself, in appearance, was no way governed by vanity, something was due to the public opinion, to the wishes of those who had shared in the glories of his victories, and to the impressions which even pageantry makes on the minds of those who are to be governed. He therefore determined to exhibit three separate triumphal processions. The first for his victory over the Panonians, the Japydes, and the Dalmatians; the second for his victory at Actium; and the third for the conquest of Egypt. In the first of these triumphs Carinus, by whom the war of Illyricum had been chiefly conducted, was admitted to partake with the commander under whose auspices the subject of triumph had been gained. In the third was exhibited a scene, which, for riches and splendour, greatly surpassed any of the former, being enriched with the treasure he had amassed in Egypt, and with various trophies constructed from the spoils of that country. Among these were carried the effigy of the late queen, having, in allusion to the supposed manner of her death, the aspick represented on her arm. This pageant was followed by her surviving children, who were led as captives.

In these processions a circumstance was remarked, which indicated considerable innovation in the pretensions of the person by whom they were to be led. It had been usual for the officers of State to meet the triumphal march at the gates of Rome, and afterwards to advance before it into the city. In conformity with the first part of this custom, the Consul and other magistrates met the procession at the gates; but suffering the conqueror to pass before them, fell behind, and followed in his train to the Capitol. Here he deposited, in the Temple of Jupiter, sixteen thousand pondo, or a hundred and sixty thousand ounces

ounces of gold, with fifty millions in Roman money, or above four hundred thousand pounds sterling^a; and at the close of the ceremony distributed a thousand sestertii, or above eight pounds of our money a man to the troops; and this, to an army consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand men, amounted to a sum of near a million sterling. To the officers, besides his pecuniary bounty, he gave honorary rewards. To Agrippa, in particular, he gave a blue ensign in token of his naval victories; to the People he made a donation of four hundred sestertii, or about three pounds five shillings a man, and doubled the usual allowance of corn from the public granaries; discharged all that he owed, remitted all the debts that were due to himself, and refused all the presents which were offered to him from the different towns and districts of Italy.

These accumulations and distributions of foreign spoils at Rome, or the general expectations of prosperous times, produced great or very sensible effects in raising the price of houses, lands, and other articles of sale, whether in Italy or in the contiguous provinces; a circumstance which, joined to the new and strange appearance of the gates of the temple of Janus being shut, as a signal of universal peace, made these triumphs of Octavius appear an era of felicity and hope to the empire.

They were followed by other magnificent ceremonies; the dedicating of a temple which had been erected to Minerva, and the opening of a great hall which had been inscribed with the name of Julius Cæsar. In that hall was placed a noted statue of victory which had been brought from Tarentum; and there too were hung up the trophies which had been collected in Egypt. The statue of Cleopatra, in gold, was placed in the temple of Venus, and at the same time the shrine of Julius Cæsar, as well as those of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, were decorated with many ensigns or badges of victory.

^a Sueton. in Octav. c. xxx.

On occasion of these solemnities, a variety of games were exhibited: that of Troy, in particular, was now instituted, being a procession formed by youth of high rank, mounted on horseback, and led by Marcellus and Tiberius, the nephew and the stepson of Octavius. Races were run in chariots and on horseback, by persons of high rank; and fights of gladiators were exhibited, in which, to the supposed disgrace of the times, it is remarked, that a Roman Senator, of the name of Quintus Ventilius, was one of the combatants. Numerous parties of captives from the Daci and Suevi, in a form that might pass for real battles, were made to fight for their liberty, that was proposed as the prize of the victors. Many exhibitions were made of hunting and baiting of wild beasts, in which were presented a Rhinoceros and Hippopotamos or Sea Horse, animals, till then, unknown at Rome. In the time of these entertainments, which continued many days, Octavius either really was, or pretended to be taken ill, and left the honour of presiding at the shows to some private Senators, who, together with many other members of their body, to encrease the solemnity, feasted the People in their turns¹.

Such had been the arts by which candidates for public favour, in the latter times of the republic, maintained in the capital the consideration they had gained by their services on the frontiers of the empire; and the continuance of these arts had now the more effect, that the people, who still had a claim to this species of courtship, were become insensible to any other privilege of Roman citizens, and were ready to barter a political consequence, which they were no longer fit to enjoy, for a succession of sports and entertainments that amused their leisure, or for a distribution of bread, which, without the usual and hard conditions of industry or labour, helped to give them subsistence.

¹ Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 22, 23.

It is observed, that in the preceding year, while the Egyptian war was yet in dependance, a concourse of Roman citizens, assuming the powers of the People in public assembly, bestowed on Statilius Taurus by a formal decree, in return for his munificence, in exhibiting matches of gladiators and the baiting of wild beasts, the privilege of naming annually one of the Prætors. So irregular and absurd were become the proceedings of what were called the Assemblies of the People; and the wary Octavius could not overlook the effect of these arts, in gaining their consent to the dominion he meant to establish. But while he indulged the People in their disposition to amusement and dissipation, he gave the necessary attention to his military arrangements, and took measures to secure the possession of that principal support, on which sovereignty, in such an empire, must be founded. He had experienced the danger which may arise from armies ill governed, and knew that a power may become insecure, by an abuse of the means by which it is gained. When to the troops, which he himself commanded in Sicily, were joined those of Lepidus and Sextus Pompeius, the engine became too unwieldy for his management, and without any other principle of government, but fear, might baffle his skill to conduct it. He learned, upon that occasion, that the considerations of civil justice, and the respect which is paid to some form of political subordination, are necessary even to the discipline and order of a military establishment.

Upon this account, Octavius, immediately after his victories in Sicily, had proceeded with great address, to reduce and to purge the legions, by dismissing strangers and fugitive slaves, and by ordering the levies from thenceforward to be confined to citizens of Rome. The denomination of Roman citizen, indeed, was no longer appropriated to the descendants of the Alban or Sabin colony, nor even to the inhabitants of the municipal towns of Italy. It had been communicated to many cities and provinces beyond these limits, and it

was likely now, with much greater propriety than ever, to be extended to the free, or well-born and respectable class of the inhabitants in all parts of the empire. By limiting, however, the levies of the army to this name of respect and of real privilege, Octavius restored, in some degree, the connection between the civil and military honours, taught the foldier to value himself on his condition as a citizen, and the citizen to consider as an honour the name of a soldier.

Upon this arrangement, the commander in chief of the army, as first magistrate of the commonwealth, had a double claim to obedience, and, joined to his military power, had an authority, derived from a principle of justice and of civil right, without which armies are no more than companies of banditti, whose force may be occasionally turned against the person who leads them, as well as against his enemies.

The legions assembled at Rome, on occasion of the late triumphal processions, were now to be distributed to what were intended as their ordinary stations in time of peace. Of these stations, the principal were on the Euphrates, on the Rhine, and on the Danube; but, before this distribution could be finally made, some troubles, which, notwithstanding the late signal of general peace, still subsisted in some parts of the empire, particularly on the Moselle and the Rhine, in the interior parts of Spain, and on the confines of Macedonia, required attention. To the first of these quarters, Nonius Gallus was sent to reduce the Treviri*, who, in concert with some German nations, made incursions into Gaul. Statilius Taurus was sent into Spain, against the Astures and Cantabri*, and Marcus Crassus, from Macedonia, had orders to repress the incursions of the

* The Bishoprick of Treves.

* The inhabitants of what is now called Asturia and Cantabria.

Daci and Bastarni, Scythian nations, who had passed the Danube and the mountains of Hæmus, and who had taken possession of some districts in Thrace; but, upon the approach of Crassus, they repassed those mountains, and left the Romans again in possession of the lands, which they had formerly occupied in that quarter".

The officers employed on these different services, were no longer, as formerly, supreme in their respective stations, and accountable only to the Senate and People; they were understood to be lieutenants of a superior officer acting as general governor over all the provinces, and commander in chief of all the armies in the empire. This supreme command, Octavius held under the well known name of *Imperator*, was usually given in the field to victorious generals, and which he, contrary to former practice, now retained even in the city; and, as we shall have occasion to observe, gradually appropriated to himself and his successors.

In the character which Octavius now assumed, he united, in support of his authority, the prerogatives of Consul, Censor, and Tribune of the People; and thus, in divesting himself of the name of Triumvir, he affected to re-establish the constitution of the republic, and to restore the ordinary magistrates and officers of state; but to a person, who valued safety no less than power, such an establishment was far from being sufficiently secure. The dignities of Consul, Censor, and Tribune, being by the constitution of the republic separate and temporary, the unprecedented conjunction, and continuance of them in the same person, was a palpable imposition, which could be no longer safe than it was supported by force; and depending on the army merely, without any plea of right, presented an object of ambition to every adventurer, who could bring an army in support of his claim.

" Dio. Cass. lib. lvii. c. 54-57. Tacit. An. lib. iv. c. 5.

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These considerations, probably, suggested to Octavius the necessity of endeavouring to strengthen his title. He had hitherto kept possession of the government under various pretences; but never declared any intention to realize, or to perpetuate the sovereignty in his own person. For some time, he had professed no more than a desire to avenge the death of his relation Julius Cæsar. Next, he pretended to remove some disorders which had crept into the commonwealth; and, last of all, to oppose the designs of Antony, who, at the breaking out of the quarrel between them, he suggested, was likely to sacrifice the rights of the Roman People to the caprices of a stranger and a woman.

These rivals, in their appeals to the judgment of the public, vied in their professions of zeal for the commonwealth, mutually challenged each other to resign their unconstitutional powers; and each retained his own power, under the single pretence that he was obliged to continue in arms, until he should have secured the republic against the designs of his antagonist.

This pretence being now removed, it was become necessary that Octavius should more fully explain himself, and declare upon what footing he was to hold the government. The chief partizans of the republic had fallen by their own hands, or by the swords of their enemies. All his rivals were cut off, and the whole military force of the empire centred in himself; but he had experienced, in the repeated mutinies of the army, the precarious state of his authority over men, who were directed by mere caprice or personal attachment, without any acknowledged title on the part of their leader.

An open usurpation of kingly power was still odious at Rome: it appeared as a direct attack, not only upon the forms of the Roman republic, but likewise as an attack upon the private right of every citizen who pretended to consideration and power proportioned to the

the rank of his family or his personal qualities; and though the People in general were disposed to submission, yet the violence of a few, who might be willing to expose themselves as the champions of the commonwealth, was still to be dreaded. In this capacity, not only citizens having high pretensions in the civil line, but military officers likewise, might be dangerous to their leader; and chusing rather to claim preferments and honours as their right, than as the gift of a master, might publicly spurn his authority, or employ against him the hands of some secret assassin, whom in any successful attempt the law would protect, and the public voice would applaud.

Julius Cæsar, whose personal qualities were sufficient to have supported him in any pretensions, still found himself mistaken in relying on the attachment of his own officers, as much as on the submission of his fellow citizens. He found persons of every condition, still animated with the spirit of republican government, combined for his destruction, and he fell a sacrifice to his excessive security, or rather to the vanity and ostentation with which he affected to hold his power. His successor on the present occasion, as he was by nature more cautious and had less ostentation, so he was taught, by this alarming example to disguise his ambition, or to proceed less directly to his object.

Octavius, therefore, having taken the most effectual measures to secure his power, still thought it necessary to affect a purpose of resigning it, and of restoring the republican government. It is reported, that he even held a serious consultation on this subject with his principal advisers and confidants, Agrippa and Mæcenas. This fact may be questioned; but in a character so entirely made up of artifice and design, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he wished to disguise his thoughts even to his most intimate counsellors, or to secure their approbation before he disclosed his real intentions.

Agrippa

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Agrippa and Mæcenas are said to have been of different opinions respecting the propriety of their master's resignation; and the question accordingly, as it was supposed to be debated in this famous council, has furnished a curious theme to historians and rhetoricians. Agrippa encouraged Octavius to persist in his supposed intention to resign his power, and supported this opinion, by stating the advantages of republican government. "It is the tendency of the republic," he said, "to multiply examples of great men; it is the tendency of monarchy to diminish their numbers, and to sacrifice to one person, the pretensions and the elevation of many. Under the first species of government, the Roman state has attained to its present greatness; under the second, it may languish, and sink to the level of other nations." He put Octavius in mind of his duty to the Senate, and to the Roman People, for whose rights, while he took arms against the murderers of his father, he had always professed the greatest respect:—bid him beware of the reproaches he must incur, if it should now appear, either that he had formerly employed the pretence of filial duty as a cloak to his ambition; or that, now finding the People at his mercy, he neglected their rights the moment it was in his power to violate them with impunity.—He mentioned the danger of attempting to reduce into servitude a People, who had been accustomed not only to freedom, but to dominion over other nations;—the difficulties that must arise in the government of so great an empire;—the thorns that are for ever fastened in the pillows of kings;—the dangers to which he must be exposed, from persons who should feel themselves injured by his seizing the government, or who should think themselves entitled to supplant him, and whose courage, in every attempt against his person, would be extolled as a noble effort of patriotism to restore the freedom of their country.

Macænas

Mæcenas took the opposite side, and contended for the necessity of a new species of government, in circumstances so different from those in which the republic had been formed. "So great an empire," he said, "surrounded by so many enemies, required the authority and the secret counsels of a prince, aided, but not controuled, by the opinions of those who were qualified to serve him. The time, when the republic might rely on the virtue and moderation of the greater part of her citizens is now no more; men are governed by ambition or interest, and if one person decline the sovereignty, many pretenders will arise, who will again tear the republic asunder by their wars and contentions." He observed, that the fortune or destiny of Octavius had placed him at the head of the commonwealth; that he ought not to despise its gifts, or to throw the Roman People again into a state of confusion and anarchy, out of which he had been destined to save them. From these topics, he proceeded to consider the difficulties to be encountered in the administration of such a government, delivered maxims that contain the wisdom of monarchy, pointed at regulations calculated to preserve some species of civil constitution, yet depending on the will of the prince, and, according to the account which is given of his speech, suggested at this conference most parts of the plan which Octavius actually carried into execution".

In the result of this consultation, it is said, that not only Octavius, but Agrippa likewise, embraced the opinion of Mæcenas; and that they, from thenceforward, considered the secure establishment of the monarchy as the common object of all their councils. They appear to have agreed, that Octavius should treat the Senate as he had in this conference treated his friends; that he should propose to resign his power, affect to make his continuing to hold it

" Dio. Cass. lib. lii. c. 1-43.

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the result of their own deliberations, and, by these means, obtain the sanction of a legal establishment.

To smooth the way to this end, some previous steps were yet to be taken. Much had already been done by Octavius to secure his power, to reconcile his new subjects, and, in case of any competition, to recommend himself to the public choice; but some caution was still to be employed in bringing forward a question, relating to the continuance of the present government, or the restoration of the republic. The Senate, on whose readily embracing and acting the part that was expected from them the whole depended, was to be scrutinized and purged of all members, who were, by their love of republican government, or by any other circumstances, likely to mar the design. A single voice in this assembly, given for receiving the demission, which Octavius was about to offer, might have greatly disconcerted his project, obliged him to throw aside his disguise, and might have made it necessary for him to continue holding by force what he wished to receive by consent, or even to have pressed upon him by the intreaties of all orders of men. In order to cultivate the dispositions with which he already endeavoured to inspire the Senate and the People, he himself, in conjunction with Agrippa, entered on the office of Consul for the sixth time, divided the Fasces with him, as usual in the purest times of the republic, and in all the exertions of their authority, or in the discharge of their common duties, knowing how little he had to apprehend from the pretensions of his colleague, affected to rank with him on the most perfect foot of equality.

U. C. 725.
Imperator
Cæsar VI.
M. Agrippa.

The new Consuls, in proceeding to their principal object, which was to reform the Senate, and to fill it with such members as were likely to co-operate in the design they had formed, of obtaining for Octavius the sovereignty by a formal consent, made a review or Census, as usual, of all the different orders of the commonwealth; and

and having, in consequence of the late troubles, much property as well as public honours in their power, they had an opportunity to enrich, as well as to promote, those whom they wished to oblige; and accordingly made such a distribution of estates and dignities, as plainly shewed, that obsequiousness to the will of Caesar was the road to distinction and fortune.

At this Census or review of the People, the Roman citizens were found to amount to four million one hundred and sixty four thousand men fit to carry arms²². So much had their number, without any increase of population, augmented by the continual admission of the freemen of entire towns and provinces, upon the rolls of the People.

The Senate had, during the devastations, and in the event of the civil wars, not only lost those who made its principal ornament, considered as a republican council, but had even undergone a great, if not an entire change of its members. It consisted now of persons occasionally intruded by the parties lately contending for superiority; many, in particular, named by Antony, and who, during the late struggles, endeavoured to support the cause of their patron. These, more especially, it was the object of Octavius to remove; but being desirous to court all orders of men, as well as to set aside his enemies, he affected a reluctance in expelling particular persons, and recommended to those, who were conscious of any disqualification, voluntarily to withdraw their names.

In consequence of this intimation, fifty Senators retired, probably most of them conscious of a disaffection to the reigning power. One hundred and forty more were struck off the rolls. In discharging this invidious service, Octavius was guarded by ten chosen Senators, who surrounded his person with concealed weapons, and is said himself to

²² The whole number of souls must have exceeded fifteen millions. Eusebii Chronicon. Caesar Imperator VI. M. Agrippa, p. 168.

R. O. O. K.
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have been cased in armour under his robe. He, at the same time, endeavoured to palliate the severity of his censures in different ways, suffering those, who were excluded from the Senate, still to retain the dress of that order, and to enjoy, at the theatre and other public places, the usual precedence of the Senatorian rank. Under pretence of rendering the order itself more independent and more respectable, he raised the money qualification of a Senator from eight to twelve hundred thousand sesterces²⁴; and, without any personal imputation, affected to exclude some Senators for the want of this new qualification, others he contrived to gain by a very artful method of bribery, alleging, that the public should not be deprived of the services of worthy citizens merely by a deficiency in their fortune, he, from his own coffers, made up the estates of several Senators to the new qualification. A striking instance of the policy in which he excelled; at once the most effectual to obtain his purpose, and the most artful to palliate or to conceal his design.

By the forms which the present Consuls, Octavius and Agrippa, affected to observe in the discharge of their public duties, the republic seemed so much to revive, that one Quintus Statilius was tempted to offer himself as candidate in free election for the office of Tribune; but in this instance, Octavius thought himself obliged to resume the character of master. Although he employed the forms of the republic to reconcile the minds of men to his government, he knew how to distinguish what had a tendency to ravish that government out of his hands, or to embroil him in contests with the people: he therefore commanded this candidate for the office of Tribune to withdraw his pretensions, and not to awaken, by his unseasonable canvass, the turbulent dispositions which had formerly so much afflicted the State.

²⁴ From about 7000*l.* to 10,000*l.*

In the arts which were practised on the citizens of Rome, shows, processions, and public entertainments always made a part, and they operated on this People, perhaps operate on all mankind, with such powerful effects, as not to be overlooked without the danger of mistaking the circumstances which lead to the most important events. Octavius, aware of this circumstance, on the present as well as on former occasions, having temples and other public works executed with great magnificence, celebrated the dedication, or the completion of them, with many pompous entertainments and shows; he furnished, at his own expence, the circus and theatres with continual entertainments, with the fights of gladiators, and the baiting or hunting of wild beasts. While he thus encouraged the People in their usual vices of idleness and dissipation, he avoided laying any new burdens, cancelled all arrears due to the treasury within the city, and increased fourfold the gratuitous distributions of corn. To these popular arts, he joined a species of amnesty of all past offences and differences; repealed all the acts, which, during the late violent times, the spirit of party had dictated; and, to quiet the apprehensions of many, who were conscious of having taken part with his enemies, he gave out that all papers or records seized in Egypt, upon the final reduction of Antony's party, were destroyed; though in this Dion Cassius contradicts him, and alleges, that such papers were preserved, and afterwards employed in evidence against persons whom he thought proper to oppress.¹¹

At the close of this memorable Consulate, Octavius laid down the Fasces, and, agreeable to the forms of the republic, took the usual oath of declaration, that he had faithfully, and with his utmost ability, discharged the duties of his station. Being destined to the same office of Consul for the following year, he resumed the ensigns of

U. C. 726.
Imperator
Caesar VII.
M. Agrippa
III.

¹¹ Lib. 52, c. 42, &c.

power;

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power; and thinking the Senate and People, by the steps he had already taken, sufficiently prepared for the subject he meant to bring under consideration, he, on the Ides, or thirteenth of January, surprised them with a direct and full resignation of all the extraordinary powers which he held in the empire. This solemn act he accompanied with a speech, which, according to his usual practice, having committed it to writing, he read. Being sensible that his sincerity would be questioned, and that his having taken the most effectual measures to obtain and to secure the government was but an ill indication of his intention to resign it, he employed a great part of this harangue in removing suspicions, not merely by assurances of sincerity, but by arguments likewise drawn from general topics of probability and reason. To this purpose, he observed, that many persons, who were themselves incapable of such intentions, might doubt his sincerity, and that many, who could not behold a superior without envy, would be disposed to misrepresent his actions; but that the immediate execution of the purpose he had declared, would remove every doubt, would silence every attempt of calumny, entitle him to credit, and to their just esteem.

"That I have it in my power to retain the government," he said, "no one will question. Of my enemies, some have suffered the just effects of their own obstinacy, and others, having experienced my clemency, are fully reconciled. My friends are confirmed in their attachment, by the mutual exchange of good offices between us, and by a participation in the management of affairs. I have no real danger to fear, and any alarm I might receive, would only hasten the proofs I am in condition to give of my power. I have many allies, and numerous forces, well attached to my person; money, magazines, and stores of every description; with what is of more consequence than all these, put together,

"gether, I am placed, by the choice of the Senate and People of
"Rome, at the head of the republic.

"What I now do, I hope will explain my past actions, and
"silence those who impute my former conduct to ambition, or who
"suppose that I am not now sincere in the resignation which I profess
"to make. Having the sovereignty at present in my possession, I re-
"nounce it, and deliver into your hands, the army, the state, the
"provinces, not merely in the condition in which I received them,
"but in a condition much improved by my exertions.

"Let this action then evince the sincerity of the declarations I
"made, when, being engaged in the late unhappy contest, I pro-
"fessed that my intentions were to obtain justice against the mur-
"derers of my father, and some relief to the commonwealth from
"the evils with which it was afflicted.

"I wish, indeed, that this task had never been imposed upon me;
"that the republic had never stood in need of my services, and that
"the fatal divisions we have experienced, had never taken place.
"But since the fates had otherwise decreed, and since the republic,
"young as I was, required even my assistance, I declined no labour,
"I shunned no danger, I made efforts above my years and my
"strength. Neither toil nor danger, the intreaties of my friends,
"the threats of my enemies, the tumults of the seditious, nor the
"fury of those who opposed me, could turn me aside from the pur-
"suit of your good. I forgot myself; I became altogether yours.
"The event, with respect to you, is known; for myself, the only
"reward I desire, is the sense of having delivered my country from
"the evils with which it was distressed, and of having restored you
"to the state of peace and tranquillity which you now enjoy. With
"these advantages, resume your political trust, and the forms of
"your constitution; take charge of your provinces, and the direc-
"tion of your military forces; conduct every part according to

"the

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“ the rules and precedents which were laid down by your an-
 “ cestors.

“ My conduct, in this resignation, will not appear unaccountable
 “ to those who have observed the moderation with which I have fre-
 “ quently declined the uncommon distinctions by which you offered
 “ to raise me above the level of my fellow citizens; nor to those
 “ who know the real value of human possessions, will it appear a
 “ folly, that having such an empire in my power, I chuse to resign
 “ it. If I am supposed to have any regard to justice, what more
 “ just than that I should restore to you what is your own? If I am
 “ supposed to be governed by prudence, what more prudent, than
 “ to withdraw from trouble, from general envy, and from the
 “ snares of my enemies? If I am supposed to aim at glory, the
 “ great object for which men have most willingly exposed them-
 “ selves to hazards and toils, what more glorious than to dispose
 “ of empire to others, and to rest secure myself in the honours of
 “ a private station?

“ Having the choice of many actions, which reflect honour on
 “ my father's memory, and may do so on my own, these actions I
 “ prefer to any other; *that he, being offered the sovereignty of his*
 “ *country, refused to accept of it; and that I myself, being in actual*
 “ *possession of that sovereignty, have resigned it.* To these actions,
 “ the conquest of Gaul, of Mysia, of Egypt and Panonia, the vic-
 “ tories obtained over Pharnaces, Juba, and Phraates, the passage of
 “ the Rhine, and of the British sea, though far exceeding the at-
 “ chievements of former times, are yet of inferior account; even
 “ the merit of having conducted to so glorious an issue the un-
 “ happy contest in which we have been engaged, the having over-
 “ come as enemies all who withstood our reformatations, the having
 “ protected as friends all who were pacific and well inclined to the
 “ commonwealth, the having by moderation and clemency stript
 “ civil

" civil war itself of many of its greatest evils, are not comparable to
 " this; *That being in a condition to reign, we have not been in-*
 " *toxicated with power: neither could he be seduced to accept of a*
 " *crown which was offered to him, nor I to retain a dominion which*
 " *is actually in my hands.*

" I do not mention any past action from ostentation, or with a
 " view to profit by the advantage it gives me, but merely to show,
 " that I know the value of my present conduct, and have made it
 " my choice, because I think it more glorious than any other con-
 " duct I could hold.

" I might, indeed (not to drag any more the name of my father
 " into this argument), challenge any one to compare with myself in
 " the part which I now act. Being at the head of great and well
 " appointed armies attached to my person; being master of the
 " seas within the pillars of Hercules; of all the towns and provinces
 " of this mighty empire, without any foreign enemy, or domestic
 " sedition to molest me; being cheerfully acknowledged and obeyed
 " as sovereign in profound peace, I now willingly and of my own
 " accord resign the whole, from a regard to my fellow citizens, and
 " from a respect for the laws of my country.

" What I have to apprehend, is not your insensibility to the merit
 " of what I perform, but your doubt of its reality, and of the sin-
 " cerity of my intention; but you give credit to illustrious examples
 " recorded of former times. You admit that the Horatii and the
 " Decii, that Mucius, Curtius, and Regulus exposed themselves to
 " danger, even rushed upon certain destruction to establish for them-
 " selves a reputation after death. Why should not I, to enjoy, even
 " during my lifetime, a fame far superior to theirs, perform the
 " action which I now propose? Were the ancients alone possessed of
 " magnanimity? or is the age become barren and unable to bring
 " forth such examples?

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“ Think not, however, that I mean to revive the late public distractions, or propose to commit the government to an unruly and factious multitude. No; broken with toil, and overwhelmed with labour as I am, I should prefer death to such a desertion of the public cause. To you, my Fathers, who possess wisdom and virtue equal to the trust, I resign this government. Weary with solicitude and care, I retire from that envy which the best of men cannot escape, and prefer the glories of a private life to the dangers of empire. To your judgments, and to that multiplicity of counsel which must in wisdom ever excel the reason and understanding of any single person, I now commit the republic. I therefore adjure you, in consideration of any service which I may have rendered to my country, either in a civil or military capacity, that you will suffer me to retire in quiet, and give me an opportunity to evince, that I know how to obey as well as how to command; and that, while in power, I imposed no condition upon others, with which, as a subject, I am not myself willing to comply. In this capacity, my conscience tells me, that unguarded and unattended I may rely for safety on your affection, and that I have nothing to fear, either in the way of violence or insult. But, if there should be a danger from any secret enemy, (for what person ever passed through scenes like those, in which I have acted, without creating some private enemies?) it is better to die, than to purchase security by enslaving my country. If the event should be fatal, posterity at least will do me the justice to own, that so far from seeking a kingdom at the expence of the blood of other men, I have freely resigned one at the hazard of my own. Whoever wrongs me, will have the immortal Gods and you for their enemies; they will perish, as the murderers of my father have perished, leaving their names as monuments of divine justice and wrath. In this, every one has had his just retribution; my father

" is placed among the Gods, and is vested with eternal glory;
 " his murderers have undergone the punishment due to their
 " crimes.

" All men are born to die; but he who dies, as well as lives with
 " honour, in some measure disappoints his fate, and acquires a spe-
 " cies of immortal life. I have lived, as I trust, with honour; the
 " other and less arduous part of my task, I hope is likewise in my
 " power. I now, therefore, restore to you the arms, the govern-
 " ments, the revenue, and all the legal powers of the common-
 " wealth. Be not dismayed by the greatness of the object on the
 " one hand, nor receive it too lightly on the other. My counsel, in
 " what relates to matters of moment, shall be freely given.

" Let the law be the unalterable rule of your conduct. In the
 " administration of government, a determinate order, though at-
 " tended with some inconveniency, is preferable to fluctuation and
 " frequent change, which, aiming at improvement, renders the con-
 " dition of men precarious and uncertain.

" In private therefore, as well as in public life, comply with the
 " laws; not as persons who aim at impunity merely, but as persons
 " who aim at the rewards which are due to merit.

" Commit the provinces, whether in peace or war, to men of
 " wisdom and virtue; do not envy each other the emoluments that
 " attend the public service; strive not for profit to yourselves, but for
 " security and prosperity to the commonwealth; reward the faithful,
 " punish the guilty; not only consider the public property as too
 " sacred to be invaded, but consider even your private possessions as
 " a debt which you owe to the State. Manage well what is your
 " own; covet not what belongs to others; wrong not your allies or
 " subjects; do not rashly provoke any power to hostility, nor meanly
 " stand in fear of those who are disposed to be your enemies. Be

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" always armed, but not against each other, nor against those who
 " are inclined to peace. Supply your troops regularly with what is
 " appointed for their pay and subsistence, that they may not be
 " tempted to supply themselves by invading the property of their
 " fellow citizens; keep them under strict discipline, that they may
 " respect their duty as guardians of the public peace, and not be-
 " come, from a consciousness of their force, a school for violence
 " and the commission of crimes.

" Such in general are the rules of your conduct, of which it is not
 " necessary to make the particular applications: these are sufficiently
 " evident. One thing only I will mention, before I conclude. If
 " you conform yourselves to these rules, you will be happy, and you
 " will owe thanks to me, for having placed the administration in
 " your hands; but, if you depart from them, you will make me to
 " repent of what I now do, and you will relapse into all the dis-
 " orders from which I have so happily rescued the common-
 " wealth."

Such is the purport of a speech, said to have been delivered by Octavius, in announcing his intention to resign the empire. The performance may not appear worthy of the person to whom it is ascribed, and, like other speeches recorded in ancient history, may have been framed by the historian". The occasion however was remarkable, and this speech having been committed to writing, may have been preserved in the records of the Senate. The historian may have copied it from thence; or, if disposed to fabricate a speech, could not in this case, without detection, substitute any fiction for what was real. The composition indeed may have suffered in the first translation", as well as in this extract or paraphrase of it;

" Dio. Cass.

" From the Latin to Greek.

But the matter, though not such as might have been expected from the conqueror of the Roman empire on a serious occasion, and in the actual exertion of all his abilities, yet is such as we may suppose Octavius to have employed in supporting an assumed character, and in proposing what he did not wish to obtain.

The references which, in ushering in this pretended resignation, are made to the disorders of the late republic; the arguments which are made use of to prove the sincerity of a purpose to resign the government of it, and the ostentation of great merit in making this sacrifice, are well enough suited to the part which the speaker was acting, and to the solicitude under which he spoke, not to make too deep an impression, nor to be taken at his word. The barefaced and palpable imposture in which he was engaged, did not admit of the dignity which might have been expected in so high a place; and, if the history of this pretended resignation were not confirmed by the united testimony of many writers, and still more by the lasting effects of it, in the forms and in the state of the empire, the want of dignity in other parts of this business, as well as in the tenor of this speech, might create a doubt of its veracity; but the same forms of resignation were again repeated, and great festivals¹ at certain periods were held on this account.

As soon as this speech was ended, notwithstanding the many evils which had been recently felt under the republic, it is probable, that if Octavius had appeared to be sincere in making it, his proposal to restore the commonwealth would have been received with joy. There were yet many who revered the ancient constitution, and lamented the loss of their own political consequence. Some, who would have been glad to renew the competition for power and dominion which had been recently decided, and many, who would have

¹ The Decennalia.

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rejoiced to find so much consequence at once bestowed on the order of Senators to which they themselves had been unexpectedly raised; but as much care had been taken in the nomination of Senators, to fill this assembly with unambitious men who were likely to prefer peace to every other object, or with men of a servile cast, who would follow the cry when raised to confirm the emperor's power, it is probable, that proper persons were prepared to lead the way in the part which the Senate was to take on this occasion.

The majority of the meeting indeed was surprised and perplexed. There could be no doubt, that Octavius wished to have his proposal rejected; but it would have been an ill manner of paying court, to appear to have penetrated his design. It was necessary to affect implicit faith in the sincerity of his purpose, at the same time to withstand the execution of it in the most peremptory manner. This ground being pointed out by those who were in the concert, or by those who had discernment enough to perceive it, was instantly seized by the whole assembly". They beseeched Octavius, as with one voice, not to abandon the commonwealth; observed, that services, still greater than those he had already performed, were yet due to the republic; that the fear of his intending to resign the government, had already filled the minds of the People with a cruel anxiety; that he alone could quiet their apprehensions, by not only remaining at the head of the empire, but by accepting the government in such a formal manner, as would give them assurance of his continuing to hold it".

To this request, Octavius was inexorable; but he was prevailed upon not to lay the whole load of administration at once on the Senate. He was willing to administer some part of the government for a limited time, and to retain the command of the army for ten

" Zonar. lib. x. c. 34.

" Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 11.

years;

years; to continue his inspection over some of the most refractory provinces, such as were yet unsettled, such as were wild and uncultivated, such as had many inaccessible retreats, under the favour of which the People still continued unsubdued, or still in condition to rebel. He agreed to take charge of such provinces on the frontier, as, being contiguous to warlike and hostile neighbours, were exposed to frequent invasion; but such as were already pacific, and accustomed to civil forms, such as were reconciled to the tribute which they paid, he insisted that the Senate, as the more easy and profitable part of the government, should take under their own administration; and that they should be ready to relieve him of the whole, or any part of his burden, at the expiration of the period to which he limited his acceptance of the military command.

By this imaginary partition of the empire, the provinces which in Africa had formed the states of Carthage and Cyrene, with the kingdom of Numidia;—in Europe, the more wealthy and pacific parts of Spain, the islands of Sardinia, Sicily, and Crete; with the different districts of Greece, Epirus, Macedonia, and Dalmatia; and beyond the Ægean sea, the rich province of Asia, with the kingdoms of Bithynia and Pontus, were committed to the jurisdiction of the Senate.

The Emperor still retained, under his own immediate charge, the more warlike districts in Spain, in Gaul and in Syria, with the kingdom of Egypt, and all the great military stations and resorts of the legions on the Euphrates, the Danube, and the Rhine". Some time afterwards, under pretence of a war which arose in Dalmatia, he accepted of this province, in exchange for the island of Cyprus, and the district of Narbonne.

²¹ Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 12. Strabo, lib. xvii. seq.

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It was understood, that the emperor and the Senate, in their quality of partners in the sovereignty, should have the nomination of governors in their respective provinces; that those named by the Senate should be civil officers merely, with the title of Proconsul, but without the power of the sword or any military rank, and they were not to remain in office longer than one year, that the officers to be named by the emperor, were to have military rank, with the title of Proprætor, and were to act in the capacity of his lieutenants, accountable only to himself, and to hold their commissions during his pleasure²².

From the reformatiions which Octavius now made in the establishment of the provinces, it appeared that he himself clearly understood the circumstances by which those members of the empire had become too great for the head, and by which the dependencies of the republic had become the means of its ruin; that he looked back to the steps, by which the first Cæsar and himself had advanced to dominion, and wished to efface the track, in order that no one might follow it, or employ the same means to supplant himself, which Julius Cæsar had employed to subvert the republic.

The provinces of the Roman empire had been hitherto not so much the demesne of the commonwealth, as the property of private citizens, by whom they were conveyed from one to another by quick succession. As they were received in trust for the republic, without any particular assignment of a share in the profits²³, great part was diverted to private uses; or where great sums were to be accounted

²² Dio. Cass. lib. llii. c. 13.

²³ The provincial officers under the republic had no salary, nor public appointments. They were understood to subsist at the expence of the provinces; and in their journeys were allowed to impress horses and carriages, and to demand every supply of provisions and forage for the numerous retinue or court that usually attended them. These powers being abused, it was proposed that the provincial officers should be supplied by contract; but the leaders of faction at Rome went forth to the provinces, with a power that could not be restrained by any rules whatever.

for to the state, there was much extorted likewise to enrich individuals by peculation and oppression. CHAP.
I.

From their stations abroad, the officers of the republic returned with the spoils of the provinces to purchase importance at Rome. If they were frequently changed, the empty hand was often held out with fresh rapacity, and the full one brought back with quicker succession to corrupt the city: if continued too long, they acquired the force of great monarchs, got possession of armies and of revenue, and had sufficient resources of men and money to enable them to make war on the state. Marius and Sylla shewed what could be done with armies, levied from the opposite factions in the city of Rome; and Julius Cæsar shewed what use could be made of the extensive territory, entrusted for a continued term of years to the government of the same person. The republic had often tottered under the effect of disorders which arose in the capital, but fell irrecoverably under the blows that were struck from the provinces.

It is evident, that the head of the empire, of whatever description, whether a commonwealth or the court of a monarch, could not be safe under this distribution of power and trust. Measures were accordingly now taken by Octavius to reform the establishment, and to reduce the provincial officers to their proper state of subordination and dependance. The duties they were to levy, and their own emoluments, were clearly ascertained. The greater provinces were divided, and separate officers appointed to each division. Neither men nor money were to be levied without authority from the Emperor and the Senate, nor was any officer, to whom a successor was appointed, to remain in his command, or to absent himself from Rome above three months. To secure the observance of these regulations, and to accelerate the communication from every part of the empire, an institu-

tion, resembling that of the modern posts, was for the first time introduced in the ancient world. Couriers were placed at convenient stages, with orders to forward from one to the other the public dispatches. It was afterwards thought more effectual, for the purpose of intelligence, to transport the original messenger to Rome.

In this establishment, the Senate and the Emperor, in their respective civil and military characters, had their several departments, and their revenue apart; what was collected in the provinces of the Senate, went to the *Ærarium* or public treasury; what was collected in the provinces of *Cæsar*, went to his own coffers. The latter professed being no more than a servant of the public, appointed for a limited time; but, in being head of the army, he secured the sovereignty, and meant to employ the Senate only as an aid to retain the army within the bounds of their duty. In his proposal to divest himself of the government, there was sufficient reason to suspect his sincerity; but, in this partial and supposed temporary resumption of government, the artifice was so obvious, as to become a species of insult upon the understandings of mankind. The Romans, nevertheless, on this memorable occasion had learned to be courtiers, could affect to want penetration and conceal their sentiments.

The Senate, in return to the Emperor's gracious acceptance of the government, proceeded to distinguish his person, and even the place of his residence, by many honorary decrees. They took into their serious consideration, by what title he should for the future be known. That of King had always been odious at Rome; that of Dictator had been feared, ever since the sanguinary exercise of its powers by *Sylla*, and it had been formally abolished by law, soon after the demise of *Julius Cæsar*. The name of *Romulus* was proposed, and thought due to *Octavius*, as the second founder of Rome; but this name he himself rejected, not on account of the ridicule conveyed in it, but on account of the implication of kingly power. The title of Au-

gustus was in the end accepted by him, rather as an expression of personal respect, than as a mark of any new or unprecedented dignity in the commonwealth.

CHAP.
I.

While the Senate bestowed on their Emperor the title of Augustus, they ordered that the court of his palace should be for ever hung with laurel, the badge of victories that were ever fresh in the minds of the People, and with wreaths of oak, the usual distinction of those who had saved a fellow citizen; in token that the Roman People were continually preserved by his acceptance of the sovereignty, and by the wisdom of his administration.

Octavius from henceforward came to be known by the name of Augustus. He had been some time the object of fear, and consequently of adulation to the People, and was now probably become the object of that fond admiration, with which the bulk of mankind regard those who are greatly elevated by fortune. Under the effect of this sentiment, or supported by the prevalence of it, citizens of high rank devoted themselves to Augustus, as they were told that the vassal devoted himself to his Lord in some of the barbarous cantons of Spain and Gaul. They took an oath to interpose their persons in all his dangers, and if he must die, to perish with him. The dying, under pretence of bequeathing some legacy to Augustus, introduced his name in their wills, with a lavish encomium or flattering character. Many appointed him sole heir, or, together with their children, the joint heir of all their fortunes. Some, on their death-bed, bequeathed particular sums to defray the expence of sacrifices to the Gods for this signal blessing, *that Augustus was still living when they expired.*

THE PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

C H A P. II.

State of the Emperor.—Condition of the Empire.—Amount of the Revenue unknown.—Military Establishments, &c.

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IN what degree the court which began to be paid to Augustus, and which continued during his reign, proceeded from design and fervility, or respect and affection, we must endeavour to collect from a farther view of his life, and must suspend our judgment until the scene of his trial is passed. At the late formal establishment of the monarchy in his person, he was in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and had still the aspect of youth. His complexion is said to have been fair, his eyes bright, and his features regular and elegant. He was well made in his person, and though below the middling stature, had so much the proportions of a tall man, as, except when compared with some person who overlooked him, to appear above the ordinary size. Two-and-twenty years of a life so little advanced, he had passed in the midst of civil wars, and in the contest for empire, which was begun by his adoptive father, and maintained by himself. During seventeen of those years he had himself been a leader of party, and veered in his professions and conduct with every turn of fortune; at one time courting the Senate, by affecting the zeal of a citizen in behalf of the republic; at another time courting the veterans, by affecting concern for their interests, and a zeal to revenge their late general's death. He opposed himself to Antony, or joined with him as suited with the state of his affairs; made or broke concerts with the other leaders of faction, made and unmade treaties of marriage; even had intrigues of pleasure with women to forward some political design; and at an age when other young men have scarcely any object but pleasure,

* Sueton. in Octav. c. 69.

sacrificed every supposed private or public connection, and every friend and every enemy to his ambition, or to the cool and deliberate consideration of his own conveniency.

CHAP.
II.

By such means as these Octavius became sovereign of the Roman empire at the age of three-and-thirty years, the same age at which Alexander, with the greatest efforts of ability and courage, which were afterwards marred by equal instances of intemperance and folly, effected the conquest of the Persian monarchy. Much, no doubt, in the fortunes of men, is to be imputed to accident. To this they owe, at least, great part of the occasions on which they act; but the use of the occasion, and sometimes the preparation of it, is their own; and nothing besides the most consummate abilities can, through a great variety of scenes, retain the uniform appearance of a fortunate life. It is true, that Octavius, with the name of Cæsar, was become convenient or necessary to the military faction which he found already formed in the empire; that his youth, and other circumstances, prevented the alarm which might have led his enemies to take more effectual and earlier measures against him. But he did not fail to improve these advantages; affected, when necessary, to be the mere instrument of the army, or of the Senate, for obtaining their respective purposes; preserved the same discretion in every state of his fortunes; and, with the same address with which he supplanted every rival in the contest for power, continued to avoid every offensive appearance in the model of his government, he still retained the forms of the commonwealth; and, besides the title of Augustus, did not introduce any new appellation of dignity or of office.

Every possible power under the republic had been implied in the titles of Consul, Censor, Augur, Pontiff, and Tribune of the People.

Some

* The title of *Princeps* had been usually given to the person whose name was first in the rolls of the Senate, and Augustus assumed it in no other sense than this; that of Imperator had been given to every successful leader of an army, and in its application to Octavius, implied no pre-eminence above what other leaders had formerly enjoyed.

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Some of them could, even under that form of government, have been united in the same person, as that of Augur and Pontiff, with the office either of Consul or Censor; and there was no law to forbid the accumulation of such dignities in the hands of the same person, probably because it was deemed sufficiently difficult to arrive at any of them apart. To constitute a despotic power, therefore, provided that these titles could be united in the same person, it was not necessary to introduce any new forms of office, nor even to assume the name of Dictator. It was more effectual to unite the prerogatives of separate stations in the person of one man, or to bestow them on persons, who would be content to employ them at the pleasure of a master; and this method accordingly being suited to the wary policy and affected modesty of Octavius, could not escape him in the choice of his model.

In the character of Consul, the new emperor presided in the Senate, and was first executive magistrate in the city. In the character of Tribune he could not only suspend all proceedings, whether of administration, of public council, or of justice; but likewise could punish with instant death any breach of the peace, or any attempt that was made on his own person. In the capacity of Censor, which was now comprehended in the office of Consul, he was the fountain of honour, could pry into every citizen's private life, and could promote or degrade, at pleasure, every person who had courted his favour, or incurred his dislike. In the capacity of Augur and Pontiff he could over-rule the superstition of the times; and, last of all, in the capacity of Imperator, or head of the army, he held, at his disposal, all the forces of the empire, both by sea and by land. The republic, at the same time, retained most of its forms. There were meetings of the Senate, and assemblies of the People; there were

joyed. These titles, indeed, by being from henceforward appropriated to the sovereign, acquired, by degrees, their significance in the original language; and in our translation

of them into *Prince* and *Emperor*, are applied only to royal persons, and the sovereigns of extensive dominion.

laws

laws enacted, and elections made; affairs proceeded as usual in the name of the Consul, the Censor, the Augur, and Tribune of the People. The only change which had happened, and that which the emperor endeavoured to disguise, was, that he himself acted in all these capacities, and dictated every resolution in the Senate, and pointed out every candidate who was to succeed in the pretended elections.

In these appearances of republican government, however, which were preserved by Octavius, we are not to suppose, that there was any image of that mixed constitution, which subsists with so much advantage in some of the kingdoms of modern Europe. The Roman Senate, under the Emperors, was no more than a species of privy council, of which the members were named or displaced by the prince; and which, under some specious appearances of freedom in their speech, were actually the mere instruments of his will.

The Comitia, or Assemblies of the People, had still less of their original dignity or power. We have had occasion to observe, that even under the republic, when the number of citizens, fit to array in the field of Mars, amounted to no more than four hundred thousand men; it was impossible that any adequate number could be assembled for any purpose of legislation or election. In the present times, when the musters extended to four millions, and the Roman citizens were dispersed over the whole empire, the assembly of any proportionable number was still more impracticable. No precautions had ever been taken, even under the republic, to prevent the great irregularities to which the assemblies of the People were exposed, nor was it ever ascertained what numbers were necessary to constitute a legal assembly. In consequence of this defect, in the latter times of the republic, any tumultuary meeting, however thinly or partially assembled, took the sacred name of the Roman People, and gave officers to the State, or laws to the commonwealth. Every faction

which,

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which, by violence or surprise, could seize the place of the assembly, so as to exclude their opponents, were masters of the elections, or sovereigns of the State.

After Julius Cæsar had taken possession of the city, he had no difficulty in commanding the elections, or the resolutions of the People; he even planned the succession that was to take place in his absence; and, being to set out for Asia, he named the officers of State for five years. The Triumvirs, in like circumstances, fixed the succession for different periods of an equal and greater length; and it was now understood, that the offices of State, though under the shew of popular election, were actually filled up by the emperor.

The apparent respect which, under the present establishment, was paid to civil forms implied no abatement of the military power. On the contrary, instead of weakening, it served to support, as usual, the authority of that government, under which these forms were observed. By flattering the People with an idea that their political consequence was still intire, this semblance of the antient republic reconciled them to the state of degradation into which they were fallen. It vested the emperor himself with a species of civil character, and with a political consideration which he could employ in support of his military power, and which, in some measure, secured him against the caprice of troops, who might think themselves intitled to subvert what they alone had established. It enabled him to treat their mutinies as acts of treason, and as crimes of state. He was no longer obliged to court their favour, or to affect condescension, in order to obtain their obedience. He accordingly, in consequence of the late votes of the Senate, changed the style of his address to the legions, calling them *Milites*, not *Commilitones*; *Soldiers*, not *Fellow-soldiers*, as formerly.

This was probably the whole amount of the political establishment now made by Octavius, and which he meant to employ as a stock

stock on which to ingraft his military power. The Senate and assemblies of the People were retained only in name, and were far from having the energy of collateral members in the government, such as could check or controul the perpetual executive, which was now established in the empire: but we shall nevertheless be disappointed, if, upon a supposition of absolute power in the emperor, we expect, in his court, the splendor and magnificence of a royal estate.

Octavius still lived in the house of Hortensius, a Roman Senator, which he occupied without making any addition to it, either in point of dimension or ornament. The equipage, retinue, or accommodation of the imperial family was not composed for show and magnificence, as in monarchies long established. Such an attempt in the eyes of a decayed republic might have had an improper effect, might have moved envy, and not procured respect*. The emperor indeed was attended with an armed guard; but this was intended for safety, and not for parade. He preserved, in his own person, the exterior appearances of a citizen, was accosted by the simple name of Cæsar, took his place in the Senate, in the theatre, in the public assembly, in the bench of judges. At funerals he pronounced the oration that was delivered in honour of the dead; and even at the bar appeared in behalf of his clients*. The females of his house preserved the virtue of notable house-wives, and fabricated, with their own hands, the stuffs which he wore in his dress.

In respect to manners, and appearance of state, the emperor, with his family, was not raised above the condition of citizens; but he had full compensation in the extent and arbitrary effects of his power. While he retained the appearances of an equal, he took care to be master; and, with no higher pretensions than those of a citizen, was more than a

* We may read in the journal of a voyage company great power as they do in modern times. Vid. Sat. lib. i. sat. 5.
made by Horace, in company with Mæcenas, that much retinue, or equipage, did not ac- * Dio. Cass. lib. iv. c. 4.

king. While he suffered the Senate and People to retain the ancient names and titles of sovereignty, he with-held from them the substance of any privilege whatever. He personated the simple Senator and the citizen with all the terrors of military power in his hands, and preserved the force of a tyrant, because he could not assume the precedence and authority of a legal monarch.

If in this account of the sovereign's person and state our expectations of grandeur are not fulfilled, his dominions will surpass the highest and most enlarged conception we can form of their greatness. The Roman empire contained within itself, and in a very entire and populous condition, what had been the seat or territory of many famous republics and extensive empires, or what has since, in modern times, upon the revival of nations, furnished their possessions to no less considerable states and great monarchies. As it had swallowed up the states of Italy and Greece, Macedonia, the Lesser Asia, Syria, Egypt, Carthage, Numidia, Spain, and Gaul to the Rhine and the Danube; so there have sprung from its ruins many states now formed within the Alps, the kingdoms of Portugal, Spain, and France, with all the divisions of the Ottoman empire in Europe, Asia, and Africa. These are its fragments, or shreds of the vast territory of which it was composed.

This empire seemed to comprehend, within itself, all the most favourable parts of the earth; at least, those parts on which the human species, whether by the effects of climate, or the qualities of the race, have, in respect to ingenuity and courage, possessed a distinguished superiority. It extended to a variety of climates, and contained lands diversified in respect to situation and soil, distributing the productions of nature and art, so as to render its different divisions mutually useful and subservient to each other. The communication between these parts, though remote, was easy, and by a sea which,

with.

with the species of shipping then in use, and with the measure of skill which the mariner then possessed, could be easily navigated.

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The Mediterranean being received into the bosom of this empire, gave to the whole a greater extent of coast, and to the inland parts an easier access to navigation, than could be obtained by any different distribution of its land and water. In consequence of this circumstance, the coasts of the Roman empire, without measuring minutely round the indentures of creeks and promontories, and even without including the outline of some considerable as well as many smaller islands, may be computed at thirteen thousand miles; an extent which, if stretched into a single line, would exceed half the circumference of the earth. Over this extensive coast, the empire was furnished with numerous sea-ports, and the frequent openings of gulphs and navigable rivers; so that, notwithstanding the great extent of its territory, the distance of any inland place, the most remote from the sea, does not appear to exceed two hundred miles.

In forming this mighty dominion, the republic had united, under its territories, all the principal seats of industry then known in the western world, had come into possession of all the sea-ports the most famous for shipping, and for the residence of merchants, who had conducted the carrying trade of the world. Its subjects were possessed of all the profitable arts, and having all the means and instruments of trade, might be expected to reap all the fruits of commerce. But, in making these acquisitions, the capital of the empire had been a place of arms, and a mere nursery of statesmen and warriors, more occupied with the ideas of spoil and further conquest, than with the attentions necessary to promote the industry or the prosperity of the nations subjected to its power. And it is probable that the Romans, in reducing so many separate nations to the condition of provinces, greatly impaired the sources of wealth, at the same time that

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they suppressed the pretensions to independence and national freedom.

It might be hoped, that the peace now given to the empire, and the protection which every province was to receive against the avarice and rapacity of subordinate oppressors, would revive the pursuit of lucrative arts, and encourage the Roman traders to settle where the natives were not in capacity to pursue the advantages of their situation. But even these circumstances, without the aid of a happier government than that which was now established, were not sufficient to repair the damage formerly sustained by the provinces in their reduction and subsequent oppression. So that although Carthage, with all its dependencies, Egypt, Syria, the Lesser Asia, and Greece, with all the trading establishments of Spain and Gaul, were united under one head, we are not to suppose, that the wealth of the empire ever equalled the sum of what might have been raised from the separate and independent states of which it was composed.

The commercial policy of Rome was limited, in a great measure, to the supply of Italy, and to the conveyance of what the provinces yielded to the treasury of the empire. Both these objects were intrusted to mercantile companies, who farmed the revenue, and who made commerce subservient to the business of their own remittances and exclusive trade.

It were, no doubt, matter of curiosity to know the whole amount of a revenue collected from so rich and so extensive a territory; but we are deprived of this satisfaction by the silence of historians, or by the loss of records in which this subject was stated. Vespasian was heard to say, That a sum, supposed equal to about three hundred and thirty millions sterling, was required annually to support the imperial establishment.³ This emperor, however, being rapacious

³ Sueton. in Vespas. c. 16.

or severe in his exactions, might be supposed to exaggerate the necessities of the State; but as this sum is beyond the bounds of credibility, and must lead us to suspect a mistake in the numbers, it will not enable us to form any probable conjecture of the truth.

Under the republic, both the treasury of the State, and the fortunes of individuals, were supplied, in a great measure, by the spoils of vanquished enemies, brought to the capital with great ostentation by every victorious general. To this source of revenue we may join the presents that were made by foreign princes and states, together with the military contributions that were exacted from the provinces.

Julius Cæsar brought, at once, into the treasury sixty-five thousand talents, or above twelve millions and a half sterling. As the lustre of a triumph depended very much on the sums that were carried in procession, and placed in the Capitol, Roman officers were more faithful stewards of the plunder taken from their enemies, than they were probably of any other public trust.

It had been, for some time, the practice of the Romans to lay every burden on the conquered provinces, and to exempt themselves. This policy is dated from the conquest of Macedonia, the spoils of which kingdom being joined to their former acquisitions, put them in condition to effectuate this exemption. It was, however, but of short duration. The practice of taxing citizens was resumed in time of the civil wars, and the privilege, or rather the mere designation of Romans, being extended to the inhabitants of many parts of the empire, all the burdens that were borne by any subjects were, at the same time, brought home into Italy, and all the former distinctions gradually removed.

Under the establishment now made by Augustus conquests were discontinued, or became less frequent; and the returns made to the treasury, from the spoil of enemies, failed in proportion; but the

avidity/

avidity of receiving presents, the worst form under which extortion can be exercised, was still indulged, and, as in every other despotical government, became a considerable engine of oppression.

The republic, for the most part, in the latter periods of her conquests, entered on the possession of territories without any capitulation, and considered not only the sovereignty, but the property likewise of the land and of its inhabitants, as devolving upon themselves. They, in some instances, seized on the persons as well as the effects of the vanquished, and set both to sale. They leased the lands at considerable quit-rents, or leaving them in the hands of the original proprietors, exacted, under the appellation of tithes, or fifths of corn, fruit, and cattle, a proportion of the produce. By diversifying the tax, the burden was made to fall upon different subjects, or was exacted from different persons, and by these means the whole amount was less easily computed, or less sensibly felt. The Romans, in continuing the taxes which they found already established in the countries they had conquered, or by imposing such new ones as suited their own character as conquerors, set examples of every species almost that is known in the history of mankind. They levied customs at sea-ports, excises on many articles of consumption, and a considerable capitation or poll-tax, in which they made no distinction of rank or fortune. These modes of taxation, already known under the republic, and various in different provinces, now began to be regulated upon the maxims of a general policy extending over the whole empire.

Some of the burdens laid by Octavius, as that which was imposed on the value of goods exposed to sale, were charged directly for the benefit of the army as a fund for the discharge of their pay, or an im-

* There being no rule by which to limit carry him, still resents any imaginary defect, the extent of a present, the person who receives it, and employs terror and force to extort what he affects to receive as a gift. as his means, or his desire to pay court will

mediate supply for their subsistence or cloathing; and by this sort of CHAP.
impropriation were unalterably fixed. The country, where any II.
troops were quartered, was charged, for their use, with supplies of
straw, forage, carriages, corn, bread, provisions, and even clothing.

From such particulars we may form some conception of the mode and tendency of Roman taxation, although we have no certain accounts, or even probable conjecture, of the amount of the whole. Under the present or preceding state of the Roman government, there was no principle operating in behalf of the subject, besides the spontaneous humanity or justice of those who exercised the sovereignty; and as the provinces under the republic had been ill-protected against the rapacity of Proconsuls and Proprætors, they were now considered, together with the republic itself, as the property of a master; and the examples of taxation, that were set by either, may instruct a sovereign how to profit by the wealth of his subjects, rather than admonish a free people how to constitute a revenue, with the least inconvenience to themselves, or the least possible injury to the sources of wealth.

The situation of Italy, and the distribution of land and water in its neighbourhood, had made navigation familiar to the Romans in the earliest ages of the republic. A considerable part of their force, in many of their wars, consisted in shipping. The battle of Actium, which decided the fate of the empire, was fought at sea; and although the Romans, at this date, had subdued every nation within reach of their seas, and had no enemy to fear on that element; yet the transport of armies, the safety of their navigation, and the suppression of piracies, by which the supply of corn, and the conveyance of the public revenue from the provinces, were often interrupted, made a naval force, and a proper distribution of guard ships, necessary to the peace and government of the empire.

Three capital fleets were accordingly stationed by Augustus for the security of the coasts; one at Ravenna, near the bottom of the

Hadriatic

Hadriatic Gulph; one at Forum Julii, on the opposite side of the peninsula; and a third at Misenum, the principal promontory or head-land of Campania. Besides these, there were numbers of armed vessels destined to ply in all the gulphs and navigable rivers throughout the empire.

The ordinary military establishment consisted of about five-and-forty legions, besides cavalry and city and provincial troops. The whole, reckoning each legion, with its attendants and officers, at six thousand men, and making a reasonable allowance for cavalry, may have amounted to three hundred thousand. Of the manner in which this army was distributed, the following particulars only are mentioned: on the Rhine, there were stationed eight legions; on the Danube, two; on the frontiers of Syria, four; in Spain, three; in Africa, in Egypt, in Mysia, and Dalmatia, each two legions; in the city were nine, or, according to others, ten cohorts, in the capacity of guards, or Prætorian bands, to attend the person of the emperor; and, together with these, three cohorts of a thousand men each, intended as a city watch, to be employed in preserving the peace, in extinguishing fires, and in suppressing any other occasional disorder⁷.

For the farther security of the empire, considerable territories on the frontier, which might have been easily occupied by the Roman arms, were suffered to remain in the possession of allies, dependant princes, or free cities and republican states, who, owing their safety to the support of the Roman power, formed a kind of barrier against its enemies, were vigilant to observe, and ready to oppose every attempt of invasion, and were prepared to co-operate with the Roman armies, and to support them with stores and provisions as oft as they had occasion to act in their neighbourhood. The republic had ever

⁷ Tacitus, lib. i.

cultivated such alliances with powers that were contiguous to the place of their operations; and frequently, after having made the defence of their ally the pretence of a war, and after having availed themselves of his assistance, they, upon occasion of some breach or quarrel, joined the ally himself to the conquest which he had assisted them to make. The same policy which had been useful in acquiring the dominion of so great an empire, was still employed for its safety. In pursuance of this policy, the kings of Mauritania, of the Bosphorus, of the Lesser and Greater Armenia, of Cappadocia, Commagéné, Galatia and Pamphilia, with Paphlagonia, Colchis and Judæa, together with the republican states of Rhodes, Cyrené, Pisidia and Lycia, acted under the denomination of allies, as advanced parties on the frontiers of the empire, and encouraged by the prospect of a powerful support, were ready to withstand every enemy by whom their own peace, or that of the Romans, was likely to be disturbed.

C H A P. III.

The Family and Court of Augustus.—This pretended Resignation of the Empire renewed.—The exercise of his Power becomes less disguised.—Death of Agrippa.

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IN the Roman empire, thus subjected to a monarch, though planted with races of men the most famed for activity and vigour, it has been observed, that the materials of history became less frequent and less interesting than they had been in the times of the republic, while confined to much narrower bounds. Under the dominion of a single person, all the interesting exertions of the national, the political, and the military spirit over great parts of the earth, were suppressed. Even in the capital of the world, so lately agitated with every difference of opinion or interfering of interests, the operations of government itself were become silent and secret. Matters of public concern, considered as the affairs of an individual, were adjusted to his conveniency, and directed by his passions, or by those of his family, relations, or domestics. The list of such persons accordingly, with their characters, dispositions, and fortunes, make a principal part in the subsequent history of this mighty empire.

Augustus still continued to employ Mecænas and Agrippa as the chief instruments of his government. To their abilities and conduct, in their respective departments, he in a great measure owed the prosperous state of his affairs. He likewise persevered in his attachment to Livia, whose separation from her former husband has been already mentioned. Together with the mother, he received into his family her two sons, Tiberius and Drusus. Of these Tiberius,

born in the year of the battle of Philippi, was now about twelve years old; Drusus, of whom she was pregnant at the time of her marriage with Octavius, and whom she brought forth about three months afterwards, was now about seven years old.

The emperor having no children by Livia, had offspring only a daughter, famous by the name of Julia, born to him by Scribonia, the relation of Sextus Pompeius, with whom he had contracted a marriage of political conveniency, and of short duration. Next to this daughter, in point of consanguinity, were his sister Octavia, the widow, first of Marcellus, and afterwards of Antony, with her children by both her husbands. Among these were, by her first husband, Marcella, married to Agrippa, and the young Marcellus¹, who being married to the emperor's daughter Julia, was looked upon as the undoubted representative of the Octavian and Julian families, and heir to the fortunes of Cæsar.

Such then are the persons to whom many parts in the immediate sequel of this narration will principally refer; and such are the outset and first considerable lines of a very long reign, of which the materials will not furnish, nor the professed intention of this History require, a long or minute detail.

The establishment now made by Augustus has nearly completed the revolution of which it was proposed to give an account. The despotism, though exercised under the name of republic, and in the form of a temporary and legal institution, being in reality absolute, and without any qualification of mixed government, it could not be doubted that the same powers would be continued after the period for which they were now granted should expire, and that the empire, for the future, must for ever submit to the head of the army: but

¹ In relation to this young man, Virgil, in flattering Augustus, has composed so many beautiful lines in the 6th book of the *Æneid*.

— Si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris, &c.

in what form of succession, or with what immediate effect on the character and condition of those who were subject to it, remain to be collected from the sequel of this and a few of the following reigns. Military government is almost a necessary result of the abuse of liberty, or, in certain extremities of this evil, appears to be the sole remedy that can be applied². But, in order to know with how much care the evil itself ought to be avoided, we must attend likewise to the full effects of the cure.

It appears from the particulars which have been stated, relating to the first uses which Octavius made of his power, that he was not to be caught in the snare into which many others have fallen in consequence of great success. In his prosperity he still retained his vigilance, his caution, and his industry, and relied upon these alone for the preservation of what he had gained. Though now secured by the pretended forms of a legal establishment, he continued attentive to what was passing in every part of the empire, frequently withdrew from the seats of adulation and pleasure in the city of Rome to visit the provinces; and, without any view to conquest, or purpose of ostentation whatever, gave his presence where any affairs of moment were in dependance, merely to extend the effects of his government, and to realize the dominion he had planned.

The peace which immediately followed the victories obtained on the coast of Epirus and in Egypt, was the circumstance on which Augustus chiefly relied for the recommendation of his government, and he seems, from inclination as well as policy, to have early entertained a maxim favourable to peace with foreign nations, and which he afterwards openly inculcated, *that the bounds of the empire should not be extended*. He himself had made some acquisitions in Dalmatia and in Panonia. But his object, in making war in those

² Non aliud discordantis patriæ remedium fuisse quàm ut ab uno regeretur. Tacit. lib. i. c. 9.

countries, had been," rather to exercise and prepare his army for the contest he expected with Antony, than for any purpose of extending his conquests; and he reduced Egypt to a province, merely to extirpate the last remains of his rival's party, and to prevent further molestation from that rich and powerful kingdom. In his first plan of operations communicated to the Senate, he expressed his disposition to acquiesce in the present extent of the empire; but it was necessary to secure the frontier from invasions, and to ascertain, though not to extend, its bounds. Soon after his new model of government was established, he took measures accordingly to repress the disorder which subsisted in some of the provinces, and to reduce to obedience some cantons on which the State had already a claim of sovereignty, though not fully acknowledged. He proceeded to punish others, who, at the breaking out of the civil wars, had taken advantage of the general distraction of the empire to resume their independency, or to make war on the Roman settlements. He had examples of both sorts to contend with in different parts; in Thrace, on the Rhine, and among the Alps, but chiefly in Spain.

Of all the provinces that became subject to Rome, those of Spain had been the most difficult acquisition; insomuch that, after all the wars so frequently renewed in that country, there were still some warlike cantons who continued to maintain their independence. Among these the Astures and Cantabri³ being in actual rebellion, the emperor himself, at the head of a powerful army, still pretending a design to invade Britain, passed into Gaul, and there having fixed a rate of taxation for the province, turned into Spain. He obliged the rebels, upon his approach, to quit their usual habitations, and retire to the mountains. But finding that they were likely to protract the war, and to engage him in a succession of tedious and indecisive operations, he fixed his

³ Nations inhabiting the mountainous coasts of the Bay of Biscay.

quarters

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U. C. 724.
Imper. Cæsar
8vo. T. Sta-
tilius Taurus
August. 2do,
Ætat. 36.

U. C. 728.
Imperator
Cæsar 9no,
M. Junius
Silenus.
August. 3tio.
Ætat. 37.

quarters at Tarraco*, and left the command of the army employed on this service to G. Antistius and Carisius. Soon after his arrival at Tarraco he entered on his eight Consulate. From that place he sent Terentius Varro to quell a rebellion of the Salassi and the other nations of the Alps, and sent M. Vicius to punish some German tribes, by whom the Roman traders frequenting their country, or settled among them, had been massacred. He himself, while his generals were employed in these services, remained two years at his quarters in Spain; and upon the elapse of his eight Consulate, resumed that office for the ninth time.

During the residence of Augustus in Spain, arrived the famous reference or appeal from the Parthians, submitting to his decision a contest for the throne of their kingdom'. The competitors were Phraates and Tiridates. The first having been in possession, was expelled by a powerful insurrection of the people in favour of his rival: but, after a little time, having assembled his forces and his allies, he attacked Tiridates, obliged him to fly in his turn, and to take refuge in the contiguous province of the Roman empire. This exile, having the son of his rival a prisoner, proceeded to Rome, and from thence to the quarters of the emperor in Spain. At the same time arrived an embassy from Phraates, then in actual possession of the throne, desiring that Tiridates should be delivered up to him, and that his son should be restored. Both parties offered honourable terms to the Romans, particularly the restoration of all the captives, and of all the trophies taken either from Crassus or from Antony, in their unfortunate invasions of that kingdom.

Augustus willingly accepted of these terms; but affecting to refer the Parthian dispute to the Roman Senate, gave instructions that the

* Tarragona.

† Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 22 & 25. Orosius,

lib. vi. c. 21. Velleius. Liv. Epitome,
lib. cxxxiv. Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 33.

son of Phraates should be restored to his father, but that Tiridates should not be delivered up to his enemy ⁶.

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By this transaction, though a pacific one, the disgrace incurred by the Roman legions in Parthia was supposed to be entirely effaced. And it being said that Augustus, on this occasion, had performed, by the authority of his name, what other Roman leaders had attempted in vain by force of arms, he had a variety of honours decreed to him by the Senate. It passed, among other resolutions, that his name should be inscribed among those of the gods in the address of the public hymns; that one of the Roman tribes should be named the Julian Tribe, in honour of him; that he should wear the triumphal crown at all public entertainments; that all Roman Senators, who had been present at any of his victories, should attend his triumphs dressed in purple robes; that the anniversary of his return to Rome should be observed as a festival; that he should have the nomination of persons to be honoured with the priesthood, and should fill up the list to any numbers he thought proper. From this time forward, accordingly, the number was supposed to be unlimited.

Soon after the conclusion of this negociation with the Parthians, the operations of the armies in Spain and Germany were brought to a successful period. Caius Antistius being attacked by the Cantabri, obtained a complete victory, and obliged that people again to take separate retreats in the woods and mountains, where numbers of them were reduced by famine, and others, being invested in their strong holds, and in danger of being taken, chose to perish by their own hands.

Carisius was equally successful against the Asturi; obliged them to abandon their habitations, or to submit at discretion ⁷.

⁶ Justin, lib. xlii. c. 5. Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 33. Velleius Pater. lib. ii. c. 91.

⁷ Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 25.

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Terentius Varro, having invaded the Salassi, or Piedmontese, on different quarters, made them agree to pay a contribution, and, under pretence of levying it, sent an army in separate divisions into their country; and thus having them at his mercy, exercised a cruelty of which too many examples are to be found in every period of antient history. He ordered, that all the children and youth of the nation, thus taken by surprize, should be put up for sale; the buyer being required to come under engagements, that none of this unhappy people, thus sold for slaves, should be restored to freedom, or allowed to return to their own country, till after an interval of twenty years¹.

About the same time Augustus received from the army the title of Imperator, and from the Senate the offer of a triumph, on account of the victories gained by his lieutenants. The last of these honours he declined; but took occasion to exhibit games in Spain, in name of his nephew Marcellus and of his step-son Tiberius, whom he wished to recommend to the army by this act of munificence. He likewise distributed lands, both in Spain and in the Cisalpine Gaul, to the soldiers who were discharged from the legions, and on this occasion built the *Augusta Emeritorum*² in Spain, and the *Augusta Prætoria*³ on the descent of the Alps towards Italy. In conformity with his general plan of dividing the provinces, he separated Spain into three governments, the *Bætica*, *Lusitanica*, and *Taraconensis*. The first was included under the department of the Senate, the other two had been reserved to himself.

Gaul was, at the same time, divided into four separate governments; the *Narbonensis*, *Acquitania*, *Lugdunensis*, and *Celtica* or *Belgica*. Upon this increase of the number of provinces, additional officers, particularly in the capacity of *Quæstors*, became necessary. All who had, for ten years preceding the date of these arrangements,

¹ Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 25.² Now Merida.³ Now Aosta.

held the office of Quæstor in the city, without succeeding to any foreign employment, were now ordered to cast lots for the vacant stations.

C H A P.

III.

The general peace being again restored, by the successful operations of the army in different quarters of the empire, the gates of Janus once more were shut, and a column was erected on a summit of the Alps, bearing an inscription, with the names of forty-eight separate nations or cantons, who were now reduced to obedience under the auspices of Augustus."

The emperor being on his return to Rome, and having accepted of a tenth Consulate, the ceremony of his admission into office was performed before his arrival on the first of January, with a renewal of the oaths formerly taken by the People, that they would observe his decrees. The Senate, at the same time, being informed that he intended to make a donation to the People, amounting to a hundred denarii for each person; but that, from respect to the laws which gave them a negative on such donations, he meant to defer the publication of his intention until he had their consent; they immediately passed a decree, giving him full exemption from every law or form of the commonwealth, and empowering him "to govern in all matters according to his own will. This decree, of which the effect was not so much to vest him with any new powers, as to remove the veil from that power of which he was already possessed, it is probable, from his caution in other matters, he would have gladly avoided. At his return, after so long an absence, he was received by all orders of men with every demonstration of joy. Having already been flattered in his own person with every mark of distinction and honour, he was now courted in the person of his favourite nephew Marcellus. This young man was admitted, by a formal decree,

U. C. 729.
Imper. Caesar
10mo. C.
Norbanus
Flaccus.
August. 4to.
ætat. 38.

" Plin. lib. xix. c. 1.

" Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 23.

to a place in the Senate among the members of Prætorian rank, and was allowed to sue for the Consulate ten years before the legal age. Livia too had a share in these flatteries, by a like privilege bestowed on her son Tiberius, though, in order to retain some distinction between the favourite nephew and the step-son of the emperor, the decree in favour of Tiberius only bore that he might sue for the Consulate five years before the legal age.

In the mean time Marcellus held the office of *Ædile*, and Tiberius that of *Quæstor*. The first, to signalize his magistracy, ordered that that part of the forum or space in which the courts of justice were held, which till then had been always uncovered and exposed to the open air, should be shaded with a covering or awning of cloth¹¹.

During the absence of the emperor, the plans which had been formed for the better government of the city, for adorning it with public buildings, and for repairing the highways throughout Italy, were carried into execution by Agrippa. The repair of the highways had been assigned, in separate lots, to such of the Senators as were supposed able to defray the expence of it; and, among these, the Flaminian Way had been assigned to Augustus himself. The town was divided into quarters or districts, under proper officers, annually chosen or taken by lot; and a watch was established, to prevent disorders, and to guard against fire.

The channel of the river, in a great measure, choked up with heaps of rubbish from the ruins of houses, that formed considerable banks and islands in the midst of it, and, at every flood, forced great inundations into the streets, was now effectually cleared¹². The *Septa Julia*, or place of assembly, called the *Julian Place*, in honour of the emperor, was repaired, adorned, and dedicated. A temple was erected to Neptune, in memory of the late naval victories.

¹¹ Quantum mutatis moribus Catonis censorii qui sternendum quoque forum muricibus censuerat. Plin. Mat. Hist. lib. iii. c. 20.

¹² Sueton. in August. c. 29, 30.

The portico of the Pantheon was finished about this time; within was placed, among the images of the gods, a statue of Julius Cæsar; in the vestibule, or portico, were placed those of Augustus and Agrippa¹⁵.

The emperor, upon his approach to the city, published, by virtue of the power lately conferred upon him by the Senate, his intention to distribute to the citizens a hundred denarii a man. In this it appears that the Roman People had still retained the worst and most corrupting part of their republican privileges, that of receiving gratuities in money and corn, as well as that of being frequently amused with expensive shows. By the first they were supported in idleness, and by the other taught dissipation, and made to forget the state of political degradation into which they were fallen. At the games exhibited in the preceding year by the Prætor Servilius, it is said, that three hundred bears, and an equal number of African wild beasts, were baited or hunted down¹⁶.

The restoration of peace being a principal point on which Augustus valued himself with the Public, the gates of Janus, in a few of the first years of his reign, had been already three times repeatedly shut¹⁷. But on a frontier so extensive, beset on the one hand by fierce nations, jealous of their liberties, and on the other, by armies, whose commanders were fond of opportunities to distinguish themselves, it was not possible long to avoid every species of war. Soon after the emperor had withdrawn from Spain, leaving the command in Lusitania to L. Æmilius, the Cantabri and Astures, still impatient of the dominion to which they had lately, in appearance, made a perpetual submission, took a resolution again to shake off the Roman yoke. Proposing to give the first intimation of their design by a stroke of importance, they drew a considerable part of the Roman army into

¹⁵ Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 22. &c. &c.¹⁶ Ibid. c. 27.¹⁷ Sueton. in August. c. 22.

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their country, under pretence of furnishing them with a supply of corn; and when they found them dispersed in small parties to receive the proposed distribution, they put the whole, or the greater part, to the sword. In revenge for this piece of treachery, Æmilius laid their country under military execution, and by a barbarous policy, to prevent future revolts, cut off the right hands of the prisoners whose lives he spared¹⁸.

At the same times Augustus himself, though somewhat contrary to the general system of his reign, entertained a project of extending the Roman settlements, or at least of making discoveries on the side of Arabia, and on the coasts of the Indian seas. He was tempted, probably, by the prospect of getting access to the rare and costly commodities, which the Arabians were known to receive from India¹⁹, and which they sold in the markets of Egypt and Asia at their own price. He expected to refund the expence of his armament from the great treasures of gold and silver which the Arabians were supposed to possess.

For this purpose Ælius Gallus, the Proprætor of Egypt, was entrusted with the conduct of an expedition to the Gulph of Arabia. This officer spent a considerable time in fitting out a fleet of armed ships, which he afterwards found to be unnecessary, as the Arabians were mere traders, and had no ships of force. In passing the gulph with one hundred and thirty transports, he, by the unskilfulness of his mariners and pilots, sustained a great loss both in shipping and men, and in the delays which he afterwards incurred, or in attempting to penetrate the deserts of Arabia eastward, he lost a great part of his army, which perished by want of water, or by disease. And thus, after a fruitless attempt, in which he spent many months, returned to Alexandria with a small part of his army, without having

¹⁸ Sueton. in August. lib. liii. c. 29.

¹⁹ Strabo mentions, that in the port of Nus there were above 100 ships from India.

gained any considerable advantage, or even obtained information of the sources of wealth which he was sent to explore²⁰.

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III.

While these transactions passed in the provinces and on the frontier of the empire, Augustus, then residing at Rome, entered on an eleventh Consulship. His colleague, in the beginning of the year, was Terentius Varro Murena. But this Consul died in office, and was succeeded for the remainder of the year by C. Calpurnius Piso.

U. C. 730.
Imper. Cæ-
sar 11mo.
Tribunus
plebis.
Terentius
Varro Mu-
rena mort.
C. Calpur-
nius Piso.
August. 5to.
ætat. 39.

Augustus himself, in this Consulship, was taken ill; and being supposed in danger, called his colleague, with a number of the principal Senators, into his presence, to receive his last instructions relating to the empire. The title by which he affected to hold the government could not support him in pointing out a succession. He accordingly made no mention of any successor to himself, but delivered to the Consul Piso, as being first officer of State, the memorials he had drawn up relating to the revenue and other public establishments. He gave to Agrippa his ring, which was the badge of his nobility, and which, according to the ideas of the Romans, had an emblematical reference to his power. He seemed to overlook his nephew Marcellus, though at this time the first in his favour, and probably destined to inherit his fortune. This circumstance, together with the general opinion of his dissimulation, made it be suspected that he had no real apprehensions of dying, and that he called his friends to this solemn audience, merely to shew, on a supposed death-bed, his respect for the commonwealth. To elude the penetration of those who suspected his arts, and whom he still continued to dread, after his recovery, he desired that the will which he had made on this occasion should be publicly read; but the Senate, already knowing the contents, and affecting to believe, without this evidence, the sincerity of his intentions to restore the republic, refused to

²⁰ Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 29. Zonaras, lib. x. c. 33. Plin. lib. vi. c. 28. Strabo, lib. ii. p. 118. Ibid. lib. xvi. p. 782.

comply.

comply. They appointed great rejoicings on account of his recovery, and amply distinguished and rewarded the physician, to whose skill it was supposed that they owed the preservation of so valuable a life²¹.

Although the circumstance of Augustus not having mentioned his nephew Marcellus, and the honour he had done to Agrippa, were probably not the effects of any serious design respecting the succession, they nevertheless became a subject of jealousy in the mind of the young man, and soon after occasioned the retirement of Agrippa from the court. This officer, under pretence of going into Syria, where he was appointed to command, set out from Rome, but stopped at Mitilené in the island of Lesbos, where he lived in retirement, without taking any part in public affairs.

During the stay of Agrippa at Mitilené, and in less than a year after his departure from Rome, happened the death of Marcellus; an event, which Livia was, by some, alleged to have hastened, in order to make way for the advancement of her own sons; but the fickleness of the season and the mortality at Rome, during the two preceding years, might have accounted for the death of Marcellus, without any supposition of unnatural means²²; and the event itself brought no immediate advantage to the sons of Livia. It was followed by the recal of Agrippa, and by a new arrangement, which removed the Claudii still farther from the place to which the mother was desirous to raise them in the consideration and favour of the emperor.

Augustus had now, for some years, without intermission, assumed and exercised the office of Consul; but thinking its authority no longer necessary to support his power, he divested himself of the title, and gave a fresh proof of his moderation, by substituting in his place L. Sestius, one of the few who were still supposed to regret the fall

²¹ Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 31.

²² Ibid. lib. liii. c. 32, 33.

of the republic. Sestius had been the friend of Marcus Brutus, adhered to the cause of the commonwealth in every period of the civil wars, and, though spared by the victors at Philippi, still ventured to retain the statue and picture of his friend.

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III.

The magnanimity of Augustus, in getting over these objections to the character of Sestius, was not neglected by the flatterers of his court; nor was his declining the Consulate overlooked by the Senate, in their zeal to devise new honours and additional concessions. The character of Tribune, which had been annually conferred on the emperor for some years, was, on the present occasion, rendered perpetual in his person, and the privilege of proposing matters for the consideration of the Senate, hitherto appropriated to the Consuls in office, was now likewise extended to him. As a compensation for the dignity of Consul, which he now declined, he was declared perpetual Proconsul, both at Rome and in the provinces, and empowered to supersede every officer, even in his own government²¹. He was, at the same time, pressed to accept the title and power of Dictator.

The People, labouring under a plague or epidemic distemper, which, in the usual mode of their superstition, they considered as a punishment inflicted by the gods for some public offence, and in particular for their having suffered the emperor to divest himself of the Consulate, proposed that he should instantly assume this or a higher dignity. While the Senate was assembled, multitudes crowded together in a riotous manner, and with threats required that a decree should pass to vest Augustus with the stile and powers of Dictator. They collected twenty-four Fasces, the number usually carried before this officer, and repairing to the emperor's palace, called upon him to assume his power, and to rescue the People from their present calamities.

U. C. 731.
M. Claudius
Marcellus
Afernius,
L. Aruntius,
August. 6to.
ætat. 40.

²¹ Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 32.

Augustus,

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Augustus, who had sufficiently provided for all the objects of his ambition, without the alarming name of Dictator, took this opportunity to establish his character for moderation. He intreated the People to desist from their purpose; and when still pressed, he appeared to be greatly agitated, tore his clothes²⁴, and gave other signs of extreme distress. Being likewise pressed to accept of the office of perpetual Censor, he, in the same manner, declined it, recommending, for the immediate discharge of its duties, P. Æmilius Lepidus and Munatius Plancus.

In acting this part, it is probable that Octavius guarded against the fate of Julius Cæsar; that he preferred security to the ostentation of power, and relied more on the caution with which he avoided offence, than he did on the vigilance of his informers and spies, or on the terror of his arms. He could not, however, at all times, avoid having recourse to these means of defence. During his present residence at Rome, he received information of a design formed on his life by Muræna and Fannius Cæpio, and brought them to trial. Velleius Paterculus, without any scruple, affirms the guilt of these supposed conspirators; but Dion Cassius insinuates, that the guilt of Muræna, at least, was rather indiscretion, and an unguarded freedom of speech, with which he was accustomed to censure the conduct of his superiors, than any formed design of so criminal a nature.

Muræna was the brother-in-law of Mæcenas, and himself appeared to be in favour with Augustus. Upon the surmise of an intention to seize him, together with Fannius, both absconded and fled. They were arraigned and tried in absence; but as the judges still enjoyed the privilege of voting by secret ballot, they availed themselves of it to acquit the accused.

²⁴ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 1.

The use of the secret ballot in criminal trials, when first introduced in the republic, as it diminished the power of the aristocracy, which was so necessary for the preservation of public order, no doubt had a tendency unfavourable to public justice. But now, when it might have been salutary, at least in all State Trials, it was, under pretence of the false judgment given in the case of Muræna and Cæpio, so far abolished, that all persons who fled from trial, or who declined appearance, were, by an express statute, deprived of the benefit of it²⁵; and this circumstance deserves to be mentioned as the first instance, perhaps, in which the judicial forms of the republic, formerly partial to the interests of the People, began to be changed in favour of despotism. This innovation was probably the more fatal in the sequel, that the emperor himself, under pretence of giving evidence, of urging prosecutions, or of appearing as an advocate for his clients, frequently attended the courts²⁶. And it cannot be doubted, that as often as he appeared²⁷, the part which he took, whether as a witness or as a pleader, must have had very great and improper influence in the cause.

In the beginning of this reign, are dated some regulations calculated for the peace and general order of the city. Among these, it

²⁵ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 3.

²⁶ Ibid. Sueton. in August. c. 56.

²⁷ Among the remarkable trials of this period is mentioned that of M. Primus, who having the command in Macedonia, was accused of having, without orders, made war on the Odrysians, a Thracian nation. He pleaded the orders of Augustus or of Marcellus; but the emperor himself attending the trial, denied his having ever given such orders, and the defendant was condemned. He is said, at another time, to have appeared in behalf of his confidants Apuleius and Mæcenas, who were arraigned of some undue in-

fluence in protecting a person under prosecution for adultery. After the prosecutor began to open the charge, Augustus himself came into court, and commanded him not to traduce his relations and friends; a stretch of power which, under legal government, ought to have given offence; but in the present state of the Romans, only put the subject in mind, how necessary it was for himself to court the imperial favour; and it was decreed accordingly, by the unanimous votes of all the Senators, that in memory of this gracious interposition of the emperor, an additional statue should be erected to him.

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is mentioned, that the number of Prætors was reduced to ten; and that two of this number were appointed to inspect the public revenue²⁸; that some feasts, which had been customary, were prohibited, and the expence of others restrained within moderate bounds; that the care of the public shows was entrusted to the Prætors, with a competent allowance from the treasury to defray the expence of them, but under an express prohibition to add, as they had been hitherto inclined to do, from ambitious motives, above an equal sum from their own private estates. The shows of gladiators were subjected to the controul of the Senate, and the number of pairs to be exhibited, on any particular occasion, restricted to sixty. The care of extinguishing and guarding against fire being in the department of the Ædiles, a body of six hundred men, destined to this service, was put under the command of these magistrates. Persons of rank having given cause of complaint, by presenting themselves as dancers or performers on the public theatre, such examples were strictly prohibited.

As the Emperor ever affected a desire to be entirely relieved of the government, he accompanied his most popular acts and regulations with a formal and ostentatious resignation of some particular parts of his power. The provinces of Narbonne and of Cyprus, which had been originally part of his trust, being in the first period of his reign restored to peace, he formally resigned them into the hands of the Senate. But while he was occupied with these pacific or popular measures, the Astures and Cantabri, notwithstanding their former distresses, still passionately fond of their expiring liberties, having revolted yet a third time, were again reduced with great slaughter. Most of those who escaped from the swords of the Roman legions, perished by their own hands²⁹. While this event, in appearance, terminated all the troubles which subsisted in the western

²⁸ Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 32.

²⁹ Ibid. lib. liv. c. 4.

part of the empire, an alarm was received from Egypt, of a formidable enemy appearing to intend the invasion of that kingdom. The Ethiopians, probably, encouraged by the low state to which, from the unfortunate expedition of Gallus against the Arabians, they supposed the Roman forces on the Nile to have been reduced, had, by the time that the alarm had been communicated to Rome, actually entered the province; and, before any assistance could be sent from other parts of the empire, were repulsed by Petronius, who succeeded to Gallus in the government of Egypt.

But before these events were known, the Emperor had taken his resolution to attend to the defence of this kingdom in person, and was set out on his voyage. Having put into Sicily in his way, while he yet remained in this island, the usual election of Consuls came on at Rome¹⁰. He himself was named, together with M. Lollius Nepos; but he declined accepting of the office, and affected to leave the Roman People, as of old, to a free choice. This novelty gave rise to a warm contest, in which Quintus Emilius Lepidus, and L. Silanus appeared as competitors, and were supported by numerous parties of their friends. The People began to recover the remembrance of their former power, and were encouraged or supported by the candidates in disorders or freedoms, from which they had for some time been restrained. Augustus himself was alarmed with these appearances of a reviving republic, summoned both the candidates to attend him in Sicily; and having reprimanded them for the disturbances they gave, forbade them to appear at Rome, until the depending elections were passed. The competition, nevertheless, was carried on with great warmth in their absence, and ended with much difficulty in favour of Lepidus.

This specimen of the supposed disorders to which the People were inclined, in the absence of an authority that was fit to restrain them,

U. C. 732.
Q. Emilius
Lepidus,
M. Lollius
Nepos.
August 9no,
Ætat. 41.

¹⁰ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 5, 6.

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probably induced the Emperor to hasten the recall of Agrippa, as a person on whom he could devolve the care of the city. The breach which had been some time made in his family, by the death of Marcellus, remained unrepaired; and he seems to have hesitated in the choice of the person whom he was to place next to himself in power, and in succession to the government. His daughter Julia, the widow of Marcellus, had yet brought no addition to his offspring. She was now to be disposed of in a second marriage, and was likely to bestow on her husband the character of heir apparent to the fortunes of her father. It is said, that Mecænas advised the Emperor to make choice of Agrippa. *This man, he said, is already too high to remain where he is: he must be lifted up to a place yet higher, or be cast to the ground*".

Agrippa was accordingly, about this time, made to part with Marcella, the niece of Augustus, to whom he had been some time married, in order that he might become the husband of Julia, and by this title the first in the family of Cæsar.

The Emperor, while in Sicily, having bestowed on the city of Syracuse, and on other towns of that island, the privilege of Roman colonies, and having made some other arrangements for the better government of the province, continued his voyage from thence into Greece. As he passed through Sparta and Athens, he treated the inhabitants of those once eminent cities with marks of favour or displeasure, according to the part they had taken in the late divisions of the empire.

The Spartans had, with proper hospitality, received Livia in her flight from Italy, and, in return, were now honoured with the presence of the Emperor at one of the public meals, which they still affected to retain in memory of their ancient institutions. They like-

¹¹ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 6.

wife received a grant of the island of Cithera, which formerly had belonged to their territory.

The Athenians, on the contrary, it is said, were put in mind of their partiality to Antony and Cleopatra, and of the singular ostentation with which they admitted the Queen of Egypt a citizen of Athens. In resentment of this behaviour, they were deprived of their sovereignty in Egina and Eretria, and forbid to receive any presents in return for the freedom of their city, a distinction, which, it seems, was still earnestly courted, and from the sale of which they derived some revenue.

From these visits to Sparta and Athens, the Emperor proceeded to Samos, where he remained for the winter²². Here he not only had a confirmation of the reports already mentioned, relating to the success of Petronius against the Ethiopians, but received an embassy from this people to sue for peace. They had addressed themselves to Petronius; and being referred to the Emperor, desired that they might have guides to conduct them to him. *This Emperor*, they said, *or the place of his abode, we know not*. Being conducted to Samos, on the route by which he was expected to arrive in Asia, they obtained a peace, without any of the submissions or unequal conditions by which the Romans were formerly accustomed to prepare the way, in every treaty, for the farther extension of their conquests²³.

In the spring, Augustus passed from Samos to Bythia, in which, though one of the provinces that had been committed to the administration of the Senate, he, by his own authority, made some reformati-
U. C. 733.
M. Apuleius,
P. Silius
Narva.
August. 8vo.
Ætat. 42.

²² Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 7.

²³ Strabo, lib. vii. p. 821.

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From thence, he continued his progress into Syria, and there likewise inflicted some severities on the citizens of Tyre and Sidon, as a punishment of their seditions and disrespect to his government³⁴.

The Parthians had not yet restored the Roman captives, and the trophies, of which they had got possession on the defeats of Crassus and Antony. This was the condition, on which the king had obtained the release of his son. Being now reminded of it, or alarmed by the approach of the Roman Emperor to his frontier, he sent an embassy to perform this article. But of the Roman prisoners, many, soon after they were taken, perished by their own hands; others, being reconciled by degrees to their condition, and having settled, were unwilling to remove. They concealed themselves from the persons who were sent to assemble and conduct them to the frontier, and but a few were recovered. These, together with the restored standards and other trophies, were conducted with great pomp to the city of Rome.

Augustus had already received the congratulations of the Senate and People, on the conclusion of his treaty with the Parthians, and knowing how much it was become a point of honour at Rome to repair the disgrace which Roman armies had incurred on the Euphrates and the Tigris, he indulged, on the conclusion of this transaction, a degree of vanity, which was unusual with him on other occasions. He ordered the rites of thanksgiving that were appropriated to the greatest victories; gave instructions to erect a triumphal arch; and upon his return to Rome, entered the city in triumph.

The Romans, in conferring honours on those who performed any successful service, considered the advantage itself, more than the means by which it had been obtained, and indulged, with all the distinctions that military courage or personal ability could claim,

³⁴ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 6.

every officer, under whose auspices they prospered, whether by artifice or valour". On this principle, Augustus, without having performed any military operation whatever, took occasion to triumph over an enemy, before whom the armies of Antony and Crassus had perished.

The object of the Emperor's journey to the East having been obtained by the restoration of peace to Egypt, he did not proceed in his progress beyond the province of Syria. From thence, in his letters to the Senate, he disclaimed every intention or wish to extend the bounds of the empire, and disposed of kingdoms on the frontier to the princes of Asia, who were considered as confederates or allies of the Romans. Among these, he gave to Tarcondimotus a principality in Cilicia; to Archelaus, the Lesser Armenia; to Herod, over and above his own kingdom of Judæa, the principality of Zenodorus, in its neighbourhood. He restored a prince, of the name of Mithridates, to the kingdom of Commagené, from which his father had been expelled; and, at the request of the people of Armenia, sent his stepson Tiberius Claudius Nero, now about twenty years of age, with a commission to remove Artabazus, then in possession of that kingdom, and to declare Tiridates, who was still at Rome, to be its sovereign. This revolution in Armenia however was, by the death of Artabazus, who fell by the hands of his own subjects, in part effected before the arrival of Tiberius.

While the Emperor was thus employed in the provinces, the ordinary succession of magistrates took place at Rome, and he himself being named Consul, together with Caius Sentius, again declined the title, without recommending a substitute. Great animosities arose among the candidates for this honour. Agrippa had been called away into Gaul, upon an alarm received on the German frontier, and from thence into Spain, to quell another revolt of the Astures and Can-

³⁵ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 8.

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U. C. 734.
C. Sentius
Saturninus.
Q. Lucretius
Vespello.
Ex Kal. Julii.
M. Venucius
Vipsanius
Agrippa.

August. 9no,
Ætat. 43.

tabri. In his absence, the Consul Sentius and the Senate, unable to repress the tumults, sent a deputation to the Emperor, who was still in Asia, to know his pleasure respecting the election, and, in return, had a fresh proof of his magnanimity and candour in the recommendation of Lucretius, a known partizan of the republic, and one of those, who being among the proscribed, had escaped from the massacre.

Augustus, during his stay in Syria, had accounts of the birth of a grandson Caius, the eldest of the sons of Agrippa, by his daughter Julia, and had a copy of the decree, by which the Senate annexed the anniversary of this birth to the days of public rejoicing. On his way to Italy, he passed another winter in Samos, where he received the ambassadors of many nations, and among these, an embassy from India, attended with a numerous retinue, and charged with a variety of presents³⁶. But what probably most entertained the curious in the western world, was the exhibition of an Indian Sage or Brahmin, who having taken his resolution to die, was ambitious to make his exit in presence of the Roman court. Being indulged in this desire, and, flattered with the attendance of a numerous crowd of spectators, he prepared a funeral pile, which he set on fire, and with much ostentation and gravity threw himself into the midst of it³⁷. His tomb was marked with the following inscription. *Here lies Tarmarus or Tarmanochegas, an Indian of Bargoza, who, in the manner of his country, ended his days by a voluntary death*³⁸. In such actions, we may perceive the powerful attraction of glory, from whatever sort of performance it be supposed to arise.

³⁶ Among these, are mentioned by Strabo a snake ten cubits long, though it appears from Suetonius, lib. xv. p. 719, that a snake of a much greater length was exhibited in the public spectacles at Rome, fifty cubits. Sueton. in August. c. 43.

³⁷ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 8. 10, 11. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 32.

³⁸ Strabo, lib. xv. p. 720.

When the Emperor's intended return was announced at Rome, many honours were decreed to him, all of which he declined, except that of having an altar erected on the occasion to Jupiter Redux, and that of having the day of his arrival inserted, under the title Augustalia, among the festivals of the kalendar. On his approach to the city, the magistrates and the people prepared to go forth in procession to meet him; but either from an aversion to pageantry, which he ever shunned, except when necessary to serve some purpose, or from a desire of procuring fresh encomiums of moderation, he made his entry in the night to avoid this compliment. On the following day, he procured resolutions of the Senate and People, promoting Tiberius, the eldest of the sons of Livia, to the rank of Prætor, and bestowing on Drusus, the younger brother, the privilege of standing for any of the ancient honours of the commonwealth five years before the legal age. He himself, at the same time, accepted the office of Censor, with a new title, that of Inspector of Manners³⁹, for five years.

This new designation was annexed to the titles of Augustus, under pretence that such an authority was wanting to take cognizance of the disorders committed in the late canvas for the election of Consuls; but, as the period was near approaching, at which he was to repeat the form of resigning the government, it is probable, that he chose to be vested with the character of Censor, in order to make the arrangements preparatory to this ceremony.

Near ten years had elapsed since the rolls of the Senate had been made up, and in this interval many reasons may have occurred for removing some of the members, and for substituting others. The powers of Censor, with which the Emperor was now vested, enabled him,

³⁹ Præfectus Morum.

without any unprecedented stretch of authority, to effect his purpose; but, notwithstanding this circumstance, his usual caution led him to seek for palliatives, and to devise means to lessen or to divide the odium of so disagreeable a measure. He gave out, that the number of Senators was become too great, and thus provided himself with an excuse for excluding many of them, without stating any personal objection. He at first proposed to take upon himself only the nomination of thirty members, and under a solemn oath, that he should name the most worthy. These thirty, under a like solemn oath, were directed, each, to give in a list of five, which would have made up the number to one hundred and fifty. And these, if they had been agreeable to the Emperor, would have probably made the first part of the roll. But as he was in many instances disappointed and displeased with the choice that was made, he selected only thirty of the whole, to whom he gave the same directions as before, each to name five; but being equally dissatisfied with this new nomination, he took the whole on himself; and alleging, that the officer who collected the names had made some mistakes, and that many, who were thus proposed to be members of the Senate, had necessary avocations in the provinces, he undertook, by his own authority, to reform the list. This task, however, he performed under so much apprehension of danger to his person, that, as in the former instance of the same kind, he carried armour under his clothes, and had a guard of ten chosen Senators, with concealed weapons, who had orders not to admit above one person at a time to approach him⁴⁰. By his conduct in this matter, or by the severity of his censures, he was supposed to have made so many enemies, or he himself at least took such impressions of jealousy and distrust as kept him in alarm, and occasioned some trials and executions, by which he proposed

⁴⁰ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 13, 14, 15.

to counteract or prevent the conspiracies which were forming against him".

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Upon observing how much the Emperor was alarmed, it was moved in the Senate, as an acknowledgment of the danger to which he was exposed, that the members should take arms, and in certain numbers by turns pass the night in the palace. "I am unfortunately "addicted to snore," said Antistius Labeo, who still possessed some remains of the republican spirit, "and am afraid, that I should be "an unwelcome guest in the anti-chamber of the prince".

The period for which Augustus had accepted the command of the armies, and taken charge of part of the provinces being about to expire, he repeated the form of his resignation, and was prevailed upon to resume his trust, though but for a term of five years longer. Agrippa being now the son-in-law of the Emperor, and the first in his favour, as well as his nearest relation, was joined with him for the same term of five years, in the character of Tribune of the People.

U. C. 735.
P. Cornelius
Lentulus
Marcellinus,
Cn. Corne-
lius Lentulus.
Aug. 10mo,
Ætat. 44.

During the preceding part of the new establishment, Augustus had affected to limit the exercise of his power to the military department, or to the provinces committed to his charge. In the city, or in civil affairs, he acted in the name of the Senate, or under the veil of some temporary office of magistracy. But in the period upon which he was now entering, he seemed to have thought himself safe in assuming a more direct authority. He accordingly received from the Senate, an appointment of perpetual extraordinary Consul, to be preceded in all public appearances by twelve Lictors, and in the Senate to have a chair of state placed between the ordinary Consuls of the year. He likewise received unlimited authority to enact laws, to the observance of which, the Senate offered to bind themselves by oath.

⁴¹ Sueton. in August. c. 35.

⁴² Dio. Cass. lib. liv.

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In this, he took occasion to give a proof of his moderation, by preventing the oath to be administered; but he proceeded from henceforward in the exercise of his power, with fewer disguises than he had formerly employed.

Prerogatives, hitherto assumed under the name of some ordinary magistracy, were committed to officers, acting by the appointment of Cæsar, and by his sole authority. Among these, may be numbered the inspection of the public works; of the highways; the navigation of the river; the markets⁴³; the public granaries; the preservation of the peace, or government of the city, which was now committed to a military Præfect or Governor. Other new institutions were made, to remedy evils of a recent date.

From the time of the civil wars, Italy had remained subject to many disorders. The inhabitants, alleging the dangers to which they had been exposed in their persons and properties, continued to form into bands, and taking arms, under pretence of defending themselves, employed those arms for lawless purposes; robbed, murdered, or by force confined to labour in their work-houses many innocent passengers, whether freemen or slaves, whom they thought proper to question or violate, under the appellation of disorderly persons. To remedy this evil, guards were posted at proper intervals, and a species of military patrol established throughout the country, with orders to protect travellers, to inspect the work-houses or receptacles of labouring slaves, and to suppress all associations, besides those of the ancient corporations⁴⁴.

By the same authority Augustus revived some obsolete laws and gave instructions to put them in force: such as the laws limiting expence, restraining adultery, lewdness, and bribery, together with

⁴³ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 17.⁴⁴ Sueton. in Octav. c. 32.

the laws which had been provided to promote marriage, or to discourage celibacy. The limitation of expence may have had its propriety under a republic, where it is an object of state not to suffer the citizen by his manner of living, or by his affectation of magnificence, to ruin himself, or to aim at distinction above his equals; but the object of the sumptuary laws, now enforced, is not specially mentioned. It was probably the same with that of the laws revived by Julius Cæsar, and consequently the same with that of the laws long since obtained, under the republic, by the Tribune Licinius, and chiefly respecting the consumption of provisions.

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In limiting the excess of the table, Augustus was himself a striking example of sobriety, being extremely moderate and abstemious in the use of wine and of food⁴⁵; and with respect to the other objects of his severity, although he himself was not equally free from imputation, he probably already experienced the necessity of certain restraints in his own family, and very properly thought it became him, in the capacity of magistrate, every where to watch over the purity of domestic manners. His zeal to recommend marriage, and to promote the settlement of families, probably suggested the same measures⁴⁶.

The Romans, by means of the Census, obtained a more regular account of the numbers of the People than any other nation, and they were exceedingly watchful of their population, even when they had least cause to apprehend a diminution of it. They made laws to encourage marriage, when the advantages enjoyed by any Roman

⁴⁵ In his ordinary diet, when he wanted nourishment, he eat a little bread, with some dried fruit, without observing any stated time for his meals. He ordered his table indeed to be regularly served; but he himself joined the company irregularly, often after they were set, and frequently left them before they

were done, and insisted that he should not be disturbed in this freedom by any ceremony of waiting for him, or by any troublesome attentions whatever. Sueton. in Octav. c. 72, 73. 76, 77.

⁴⁶ Sueton. in Octav. c. 63.

citizen,

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citizen, as father of a family, were of themselves a sufficient encouragement. Augustus being to revive those laws, produced and read in the Senate a speech at that time, still extant which had been delivered by Metellus Numidicus on this subject, about a hundred years before the present date.

Even so far back, under the republic, the decline of domestic manners may have begun to be felt. Licentiousness and want of œconomy may have already broke into the establishment of Roman families; disorders happening in the state of matrimony, may have deterred the single from embracing it. But if the effect of such circumstances then began to appear, how much more may we suppose that the destructive civil wars, which followed; the removal of the ancient inhabitants of Italy, to make way for strangers and soldiers of fortune, must have operated to reduce the numbers of the people? These troubles ending in military government; the uncertainty of every man's condition depending on the will of a master; fear, melancholy, and dejection, felt amidst the ruins of a fallen republic, may have completed the accumulation of evils, and the effect may have suggested to Augustus the necessity of reviving the ancient laws of the republic for the encouragement of population; inasmuch, that the extension and application of them became a principal object of his reign.

Suetonius, as usual in his manner, without regard to dates, brings into one view many particulars of the policy of Augustus relating to this subject. Among these, it is mentioned that he augmented the rewards of marriage, and the penalties on celibacy⁴⁸.—That he sometimes brought forward the children of his own family into the place of public assembly, and exhorted the people to profit by that example; but that his zeal in this matter was far from being acceptable to the People. That he was frequently accosted in the theatres and places of public

⁴⁸ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 16.

resort, with general cries of aversion ;—had representations from citizens of rank, that it was impossible to support the extravagance of women educated in high condition, and was obliged to correct many of the edicts he at first had published, and to abate much of their rigour ;—that, in order to facilitate the settlement of families, he permitted free and noble citizens to marry emancipated slaves⁴⁹ ;—that the law, never heless, was still eluded ;—that pretended marriages were contracted with children or females under age, and the completion of course indefinitely deferred⁵⁰ ;—that to prevent such evasions or frauds, it was enacted that no marriage could be legally contracted with any female under ten years of age, nor the completion of any marriage be delayed above two years after the date of the supposed contract⁵¹.

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As it was proposed to multiply marriages, so it appeared likewise of consequence to render the dissolution of those already formed more difficult, and to lay divorces and separations under proportional restraints⁵². Under this wretched policy it seemed to be forgotten, that where mankind are happy, nature has provided sufficient inducements to marriage. The sovereign, who charged himself with the care of the People, seemed to consider a state into which mankind are powerfully led, by the most irresistible calls of affection, passion and desire, as a kind of workhouse into which they must be driven by the goad and the whip, or a prison in which they must be detained under bars and fetters of iron. The People seemed to feel themselves become the property of a master, who required them to multiply, in order to increase the number of his subjects ; and they resisted this part of his administration, more than any other circumstance of the state of degradation into which they were fallen.

Augustus, in this second period of his reign, while he extended the exercise of his power, still endeavoured to disguise it under some

U.C. 736.
C. Furnius,
C. Julius
Silanius.
Aug. 11mo,
Ætat. 45.

⁴⁹ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 16.

⁵⁰ Sueton. in Octav. c. 34.

⁵¹ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 16.

⁵² Sueton. in Octav. c. 34.

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forms or regulations of the ancient constitution. For this purpose, he revived the laws against bribery, those against taking fees for the pleading of causes, and the laws that were made to enforce the attendance of Senators. In these particulars, we cannot imagine that he so far mistook the situation into which he had brought the people, as to revive laws against bribery, after there ceased to be any free election; the laws against accepting of fees⁵³ for pleading of causes, after all the motives which formerly induced Senators to lend their gratuitous protection, had ceased to exist⁵⁴; the law imposing a fine upon members of the Senate coming too late to their places, after the proceedings of the Senate, were reduced to a mere form, by which the Emperor enforced his own decrees⁵⁵. In these instances, then, we must suppose that Augustus, in the usual strain of his policy, revived the laws of the republic, in order to make it be believed that the republic was still in existence. But notwithstanding his attention, by these and other methods, to conceal the extent of his usurpation, he could not escape the penetration of his subjects, nor even the animadversion of buffoons, to whom some degrees of freedom or of petulance are permitted, after they are withheld from every one else. Having banished a player of the name of Pylades, for a difference with another player of the name of Bathyllus, he afterwards, to please the People, recalled Pylades; and giving him some admonition to be upon his good behaviour for the future: *That is a jest, said the other, for the more that the People are occupied with our quarrels, the better for you*⁵⁶.

The emperor, having remained at Rome about two years after the commencement of the second period of his reign, continued, or began to carry on many works for the ornament, magnificence, or

⁵³ Lex Cincia. The offender was subjected to a fine, equal to double the fee he had accepted.

⁵⁴ Under the republic, the character of an

able pleader led to the highest preferments and honours of the state.

⁵⁵ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 18.

⁵⁶ Ibid. lib. liv. c. 17.

convenience

convenience of the city. To defray the expence of such works, he laid persons, who had obtained a triumph, or any military honour, under a contribution of some part of their spoils; and by these means, perhaps, made some officers pay for their vanity more than they had taken from the enemy. He was supposed to be lavish of military honours, which in reality began to lose their value, or to change their nature, being mere badges of court favour, not, as formerly, the evidence or record of signal services rendered to the State, and supported by the testimony of victorious armies, and the voice of the People. It may be observed, as an evidence, how much the triumph was fallen in its value, that, for some advantage gained over the Garamantes", an obscure nation on the frontier of the Roman province in Africa, it was bestowed on Balbus, a native of Gades in Spain, and but newly admitted a Roman citizen; while it was declined by Agrippa, to whom it was due for his eminent services, and who considered it as a piece of empty pageantry, which could add nothing to the consideration he already enjoyed".

About this time Augustus received an accession to his family by the birth of another grandson, of the name of Lucius, the second son of Agrippa, by his daughter Julia; and by adopting both the brothers, conferred upon them the names of Caius and Lucius Cæsar, and, by the same act, published the destination of his fortunes.

In the midst of festivals, which were instituted on this occasion, the attention of the emperor was called anew to the provinces by alarms which were received at once in many parts of the empire.

Historians give us a list of particulars, exhibiting the troubles to which so extensive a territory was still exposed. The Commenii and Venones, nations inhabiting the valleys of the Alps, were in arms. The Panonii and Norisci had attacked Istria. The Dan-

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U. C. 736.
August.
11mo, Ætat.
45.

U. C. 737.
L. Domitius
Ahenobar-
bus, P. Cor-
nelius Scipio.
August.
12mo, Ætat.
46.

³⁷ Plin. lib. v. c. 6.

³⁸ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 11.

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thæleti and Scordisci had invaded Macedonia. The Sauromatæ had passed the Danube. Some cantons, both of Dalmatia and Spain, had revolted. The Sicambri, Ufupetes, and Tenchteri, German nations bordering on the Rhine, having seized on the Italian traders who frequented their country, in imitation of the Roman manner of punishing slaves, nailed them to the cross, and employing this insult as a declaration of war, passed the Rhine, and made a descent upon Gaul. They surprised and put to flight a party of horse which had been sent by Lollius to observe their motions. In pursuit of this advantage, they fell in with the main body, commanded by Lollius himself, equally unprepared to receive them, obliged him to retire with great loss, and with the disgrace of leaving the standard of one of the legions in the hands of his enemies⁹⁹.

These revolts of the frontier provinces, or incursions of barbarous neighbours, may be considered as part of a war which lasted for ages, and terminated at last in the ruin of the empire. The defeat of Lollius was indeed the first signal calamity which had befallen the Roman arms under the auspices of the present emperor¹⁰⁰. It was supposed to have greatly affected him, and to have caused the resolution which he took to pass the Alps, and to superintend, in person, the measures that were necessary to repair this loss. His departure from Rome, however, at this time, is likewise ascribed to other motives. He had now, for about two years, been exposed in the city to the animadversion and censure which a people, still petulant though not free, were ready, on so near a view, to bestow on his person and government; and it was part of his policy to withdraw, at proper intervals, from the observation of such a People, in order to preserve that respect and authority which too much familiarity is apt to impair. He accordingly took occasion from these alarms, on the west and northern

⁹⁹ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 20. Vell. Pater. lib. 20. c. 97.

¹⁰⁰ Suet. in Octav. c. 33-

frontier,

frontier, to absent himself from the city; and dispatched Agrippa, at the same time, into Asia, where a contest which had arisen respecting the succession of the kingdom of the Bosphorus required his presence.

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The emperor, leaving the administration of affairs at Rome in the hands of Statilius Taurus, set out for Gaul, accompanied by Mæcenas and Tiberius, now in the rank of Prætor, who made a part of his court. At his arrival in Gaul, the People were relieved of the alarm they had taken on the approach of the German invaders, who, not being prepared to make a continued war beyond their own boundaries, had repassed the Rhine. He proceeded, therefore, to receive the representations that were made to him relating to the administration of the province. Among these are mentioned complaints of extortion on the part of the governor. This officer, though now bearing a Roman name, that of Licinius, was himself a native of Gaul, and had been a slave in the family of Julius Cæsar. Having become, by the bounty of his master, a freeman and a Roman citizen, he was afterward gradually raised, by Augustus himself, to the height of his present command, in which he committed enormous oppressions. Being convicted of the crimes which were laid to his charge, it is said, that the money of which he had robbed the province was seized, but not returned to the owners⁶¹.

U. C. 738.
M. Livius
Drusus,
L. Calpurnius Piso.
August.
13mo, Ætat.
47.

While the Germans fled from Gaul upon the report of the emperor's approach, the revolts of the Commenii and Venones, of the Panonii and Ligures Commati, were quelled at the same time by the different officers who had been employed against them. The Rheti and Vendelici, nations inhabiting the valley of Trent, having been long in the practice of plundering the Roman traders, of making incursions into Gaul, and even into Italy, were attacked first

⁶¹ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 21.

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by Drusus, the younger of the sons of Livia, and being forced from their own country, moved in a hostile manner into the Roman province, where they were received by Tiberius, at the head of a considerable army; and being pressed at once by both the brothers, were obliged to make their submission, and to suffer the greater part of their men, able to carry arms, to be transplanted into other countries⁶¹.

The peace being thus established on the side of Germany, the emperor applied himself to restore some cities which had gone to ruin in different parts of the empire, and to plant new colonies in Gaul and in Spain. Whether these were settlements provided for the veterans and Emeriti, by dispossessing the antient inhabitants, or new plantations made in waste and unappropriated lands, is uncertain. Suetonius informs us, that no less than twenty-eight different colonies were settled in Italy, towns built, and funds allotted to defray the expence of these newly established communities; and that persons, who had filled any office of magistracy in these colonies, were intitled to a vote in the elections at Rome.

Among the acts of Augustus, during his progress in Gaul, are mentioned the effects of his attention to the favourite object of encouraging population, with the premiums he gave, wherever he passed, to such persons as presented him with numerous families of children⁶²: it is mentioned, that the city of Paphos being destroyed by an earthquake, he gave orders to have it rebuilt; and, as an earnest of his future patronage, gave the inhabitants leave to change the name to Augusta⁶³: that he restored to the people of Cyzicum in Bithynia, the privileges of which he himself had lately deprived them: that his orders, to re-establish the king of Pontus in possession of

U. C. 739.
M. Licinius,
Cn. Corneli-
us Lentulus.
August.
14mo, Ætat.
48.

⁶¹ Videre Rhæti bellâ sub Alpibus. Drusum, Gerentem, et Vendelici, &c. &c. Horat. Carm. lib. iv. Od. 4. Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 22. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 95.

⁶² Sueton. in Octav. c. 46.

⁶³ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 23.

the

the Bosphorus, which had been usurped by a pretended descendant of Mithridates, being successfully executed by Agrippa, he received the report of this service without having it communicated to the Senate. And this is said to have been the first instance in which this form was omitted.

A triumph having been offered to Agrippa, on this occasion, was again declined⁶⁶.

Augustus had now passed above two years in Gaul, and obtained the end for which he went, whether of a temporary recess from Rome, or of making the necessary provision for the security of the province. Leaving Drusus, the younger of the sons of Livia, to command on the Rhine, and to continue the military services he had lately begun among the Alps, he himself set out on his return to Italy. But, willing to avoid the crowds which usually advanced to receive him on his approach to the city, he made his entry in the night. The Senate, however, not to lose any opportunity of paying their court, ordered to be erected, in the usual place of their assembly, an altar, on which to offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving for his safe return; and to signalize the occasion by some circumstance of a gracious nature, resolved, that, from this date, whatever criminal within the city presented his prayer for forgiveness to the emperor in person, should obtain his pardon. Both these flattering decrees, presented to him on the day of his arrival, he rejected. On the following day, he received the salutations of the People on the Palatine Hill⁶⁷, ordered the baths to be thrown open to them, and the usual attendance at such places to be given at his own expence. From this ceremony he proceeded to the Capitol, and going up to the statue of Jupiter, stripped the laurel from his fasces, and laid this badge of his victory at the feet of the pedestal. He then assembled the Senate; but excusing

U. C. 740.
Tiberius
Claudius
Nero,
Quincellus
Varus.
August.
15mo, Ætat.
49.

⁶⁶ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 23.

⁶⁷ The place of his own residence.

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himself from speaking, on account of a hoarseness, he delivered a paper to be read by his Quæstor, containing a summary of his late operations in the provinces, and some new regulations, by which the army, for the future, were to be governed⁶⁸.

Augustus had gradually, since his accession to the government of the empire, endeavoured to improve the discipline of the legions, and particularly to restore the dignity of the military character, by forbidding the admission of slaves. From this rule he never departed, except either upon extraordinary occasions, which required sudden augmentations of the army, or in recruiting particular bodies of men, such as the city-watch, appointed to guard against fire and other disorders. And he succeeded so far in restoring the discipline, which had been much relaxed in times of the civil war, that he had authority enough, on different occasions, to dismiss, without any provision or reward, all such as presumed to make any demands in a mutinous manner. He had intirely disbanded the tenth legion for mutiny. In urging the duties of the service, he generally decimated such bodies of men as gave way before an enemy, and punished with death the desertion of a post, whether in officers or private men. Less offences he punished with some species of ignominy or disgrace, as, by obliging the offender to stand a whole day unarmed before the general's tent, with some mark or badge of disgrace⁶⁹.

By the regulations now presented to the Senate for their approbation, the term of military service was fixed, if in the Prætorian bands, at twelve years; if in the legions, at sixteen years. After this term, it was admitted that a soldier might claim his discharge.

It had been the practice in the course of the late civil wars to gratify the veterans, at their dismissal, with grants of land; a practice which taught the armies to covet the possessions of their fellow-citi-

⁶⁸ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 25.

⁶⁹ Sueton. in Octav. c. 23.

zens, and to seek for pretences against them, which, in reality, rendered that species of property extremely insecure. But Augustus now thought himself possessed of a sufficient authority to reform this abuse, and to substitute, for these grants of land, a gratuity in money⁷⁰. By publishing his regulation on this subject, he greatly quieted the fears and apprehensions under which the pacific inhabitants laboured in different parts of the empire.

The utmost efforts of the emperor were likewise required, on the present occasion, to preserve the mask under which he wished to conduct his government. The Senate, though maintained in all its formalities, was observed to have no power, and began to be deserted. The civil offices were shunned as a burden, or as a conspicuous servitude. Many families of Senators were gone to decay, and those who were called in to supply their places, either had not, or denied that they had the legal qualification. The titles of magistracy continued for some time to be coveted, on account of the rank which they were supposed to bestow; but the frequency and prostitution of such honours now rendered them contemptible⁷¹; and, in some degree, already an object of that ridicule which is so well expressed by the Satyrists in writings of a later date⁷².

To relieve Senators, in part, of the burdens which they alone were hitherto appointed to bear, the emperor, while yet in Gaul, gave directions that the ten judges, who decided in all questions relating to public sales and confiscations, the three inspectors of the coin⁷³, the officers who had charge of public executions⁷⁴, and the wardens of

⁷⁰ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 25.

⁷¹ Ibid. lib. liv. c. 30.

⁷² Perpetuo risu, pulmonem agitare solebat

Democritus, quanquam non essent arbitribus illis,

Prætextæ, et Trabes, Fasces, Lætica, Tribunal.—

Juven. Sat. x. v. 33.

⁷³ Triumviri Monetales.

⁷⁴ Triumviri Capitaless.

the streets and highways⁷⁵, should all, for the future, be taken from the Equestrian order. It was now the practice to decline, not only servile or burthenfome offices of this sort, but likewise what had been the highest stations under the republic; and it became necessary to force the acceptance of them under actual penalties. At first, all who had been Quæstors, if still under forty years of age, were draughted by lot for the superior offices⁷⁶; all likewise who had been Quæstors, and who were possessed of the legal estate, if not above thirty years of age, were obliged to enrol in the Senate.

From this forced enrolment or promotion, however, which may be considered as a general press for Senators and officers of State, were excluded all such as had any bodily deformity or blemish, or who wanted the legal estate. In ascertaining the fortunes of Senators the parties themselves were examined, and other evidence was brought to investigate the truth. Such as appeared to have made any diminution in their paternal inheritance were obliged to specify the losses they had sustained, and to give an account of their own manner of life⁷⁷.

In the sequel of these measures, which were intended to preserve the appearance of a commonwealth, and to support the formalities of a civil institution, it is probable, although not mentioned by any of the historians, that Augustus accepted of a prolongation of his power for other five years⁷⁸; and again assumed Agrippa with himself into the office of Tribune for the same term. The ceremony of this resignation became, by degrees, a matter of form, and his resumption of the empire was made known by sports and entertainments, which rendered the occasion extremely agreeable to the People.

⁷⁵ Viginti Viri.

⁷⁶ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 26:

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ His having accepted the empire for ten years, and, at the expiration of this period,

his having accepted of it for five years, are mentioned; and again, it is mentioned, about his twentieth year, or five years after this date, that he accepted of it for ten years more.

At this time a theatre, which had been begun by Marcellus, was finished, and opened with great solemnity. A procession of noble youth was led by Caius the son of Agrippa, and adoptive son of the emperor. Six hundred African wild beasts were baited in the Circus, and among them a tyger, it being the first time that this animal made its appearance at Rome⁷⁹.

In continuation of these entertainments, Julius, the son of Antony, being Prætor, celebrated the birth-day of Augustus with the most expensive shews, and in his public character entertained the Senate, together with the emperor himself, at a feast in the Capitol⁸⁰.

Tiberius, at the same time, in performance of a vow which he had made for the emperor's safe return from his last excursion to the provinces, gave splendid entertainments. Having introduced Caius Cæsar, the eldest of the emperor's adoptive sons, and placed him by himself in the Prætor's chair at the theatre, he was received by the People with shouts of applause.

The emperor, however, gave signs of displeasure. "Such premature honours," he said, "could only serve to inspire the mind of a young man with presumption and pride".

About this time died the famous Triumvir M. Æmilius Lepidus, formerly the associate or the tool of Octavius and Antony, in the execution of their designs against the republic. While he was subservient to the interest of these competitors, he was allowed, in appearance, to hold a third part of the empire; but being unsupported by any real abilities or personal authority, he ceased to be of any consequence the moment he presumed to act for himself, and was too inconsiderable, even to be an object of resentment to those he had injured.

Augustus had suffered this fallen rival to remain, during his life, in the dignity of Pontiff, and, by keeping him in public view, de-

U. C. 740.
August.
15mo, Ætat.
49.

⁷⁹ Plin. lib. viii. c. 17.

⁸⁰ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 25; 26.

⁸¹ Ibid. c. 27.

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prived him of the consolation even of being forgotten". The emperor, though himself desirous to hold this sacred character, and frequently pressed, by his flatterers, to supplant Lepidus, was too cautious to violate any supposed religious institution, and too politic to trifle with acknowledged rights, of which he meant, on occasion, to avail himself. But upon the death of Lepidus, he did not neglect to assume the only dignity which was wanting to complete the accumulation of prerogatives united in his own person.

Agrippa had returned to Rome, about the same time, with the emperor; but soon had occasion again to depart from Italy, being sent to quell a rebellion that broke out in Panonia. Upon his arrival in this country, finding the natives already subdued by the fear of his approach, he accepted of their submission; and though still in the depth of winter, set out on his return to Rome. After he had repassed the seas, on his way through Campania, he was taken dangerously ill. Augustus received the accounts of his danger, while he was exhibiting sports to the People in the name of his two sons, Caius and Lucius, and left the city immediately to attend his friend; but came too late, and after he expired.

This great man appears to have been worthy of the best times of the republic. He had magnanimity enough to have relied on his personal qualities alone for consideration and honour, and was fit to have been a citizen of Rome in its happiest age; but from the necessity of the times, and the principles of fidelity to the friend who trusted him, he became a principal support of the monarchy. His great abilities being employed to maintain the government and authority of the prince, and his credit with the prince employed in acts of justice and moderation to the People, he was neither an object of jealousy to the one, nor of envy to the other.

¹¹ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 15.

U. C. 741.
M. Valerius
Barbatus,
P. Sulpicius,
Omilian in
mag. mort.
C. Vagius
abdicavit,
C. Caninius.
August.
16mo, Ætat.
50.

It was a singular instance of good fortune to have found such an officer, and a mark of understanding and steadiness, without jealousy, and without wavering, to have persevered in the choice. In this, and in some other instances, Augustus showed that his talent was not mere cunning, but a principle of able conduct, which is tried in nothing more than in the choice and employment of proper men. He raised Agrippa, though not a flatterer, from a low condition, to command his forces, to preside in his councils, and, last of all, by the marriage of his daughter, to the highest place in his own family.

At the funeral of his friend, the emperor took upon himself the office of principal mourner, accompanied the corps from Campania to Rome; and having it brought into the Forum, pronounced the funeral oration, having, while he spoke, a screen placed between himself and the dead body. In order to confirm and to encrease the regard that was paid to the memory of the deceased, he not only ratified that part of the will, by which Agrippa bequeathed his gardens and his baths to the public, but in his name also made further additions to the legacy.

Julia, at the death of her husband, was again pregnant, and bore a third son, who, from the family of his father, and the circumstances of his birth, was known by the name of Agrippa Posthumus.

²¹ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 28, 29.

CHAP. IV.

*Marriage of Julia with Tiberius.—Death of Drusus.—Death of
Mæcenæ.—Disgrace of Julia.—War in Pannonia.—Roman
Legions cut off in Germany.—Tiberius associated in the Empire.
—Death of Augustus.*

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U. C. 721.
August.
16mo, Ætat.
50.

THE death of Agrippa made way for Tiberius Claudius Nero, then about twenty-eight years of age, into a higher place than he yet held in the family and confidence of the emperor.

Octavius had received this young man in the arms of his mother Livia, had observed the progress of his childhood and youth, and had given him no distinguished place in his favour during the lives of Marcellus or Agrippa, to whom he had successively married his daughter: but being deprived of both these supports, and his adopted children, Caius and Lucius being yet of tender age, he was led to receive Tiberius as a relation, the nearest to supply the place of those he had lost.

Livia, by whose arts the emperor now began to be governed, was, according to the report of historians, and, as we may infer from her own conduct, perfectly formed to the mind of her husband. In all matters, not only of business, whether private or public, but even in those affairs in which the sexes are least patient of each others failings, she preserved or affected the most implicit submission to his will. She is said, not only to have connived at his infidelities, but as often as he was inclined to diversify his pleasures, even to have employed her sagacity and her knowledge of his choice in procuring him the means of indulging his fancy. Herself, the dupe of no passion which was likely to mislead her, she never lost an opportunity to advance her family,

family, nor risked the miscarriage of her purpose, by hastening improperly the means of obtaining it. Favoured by the death of Agrippa, and the minority of the young Cæsars, she easily, without seeming to entertain any improper views for her son, procured his advancement. He was at first received by the emperor as a temporary aid in the government, and afterwards as a person fit to become the third husband of Julia; and by this connection to occupy a rank in his family, which had been hitherto considered as the nearest to his own.

Tiberius, at the time that this resolution was taken in his favour, was already a husband and a father, having been married to Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa, by whom he had a son named Drusus. He is said to have parted, with great reluctance, from Vipsania, then a second time pregnant, in order to make way for Julia, by whom he was to hold the second place in the empire.

Augustus had hitherto distinguished, by the marriage of his daughter, the person whom he meant to point out as his successor; but, his family being now become numerous, it does not appear that he had any thoughts of giving to this new son-in-law precedence of his adopted children, Caius and Lucius, who, bearing the name of Cæsar, already precluded any competition for rank in the empire. This third marriage of Julia, he probably intended for a purpose, which it did not by any means serve, that of restraining the disorders to which this unhappy person was inclined.

Tiberius had begun his military services with some distinction in Gaul, and now coming into the place of Agrippa, was sent to repress a rebellion, which, upon the report of that officer's death, had again broke out in Panonia. Having succeeded in this service, he gave orders, that the youth of the vanquished nation should be sold into slavery, and that the buyer should come under an obligation to trans-

³ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 31.

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port them far from their native country; a cruel action, but not to be imputed merely to the personal character of this young man, as it did not exceed what was frequent in the history of the Romans.

Upon this occasion Tiberius had the honour of a triumph conferred by the Senate; but by the emperor's directions, while he accepted of the triumphal robes, he declined to enter the city in procession.

About the same time Drusus, the younger brother of Tiberius, then stationed on the Rhine, had repulsed a body of Germans, passed the river in pursuit of them, and laid waste the contiguous country of the Sicambri and Usipetes, which, lying between the Lippe and the Issel, is now the bishopric of Munster, or the province of Zutphen. Having embarked his army, he fell down the Issel to the marshy lands inhabited by the Frisii and Chauci, probably what are now the provinces of Friesland and Groningen, arrived without resistance at the sea, where the tides, to which his Italian mariners were unaccustomed, leaving them sometimes ashore, and almost out of sight of the sea, at other times threatening to overflow all the lands in their view, gave them at first considerable trouble; but having learned to accommodate themselves to this alternate flux and reflux of the waters, they took the benefit of the floods to re-ascend the river, and returned to their station on the frontiers of Gaul.

Drusus, having thus explored the coasts of the northern ocean, set out for Italy; and, though already vested with the dignity of Prætor, was made to accept of an inferior rank in the office of Ædile; probably to set an example, encouraging others to comply with the forms of the republic which were still kept up; but which were at this time very much neglected by persons of rank.

As the Roman armies had now, for some time, ceased to make offensive war. Many of the barbarous nations took courage from

^a Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 31.

^b Ibid. lib. liv. c. 32.

this circumstance, and began to harass the provinces in their neighbourhood, passed the Rhine and the Danube in frequent incursions and laid waste the frontiers of Gaul, Panonia and Thrace; insomuch, that it appeared necessary, for the security of these provinces, to attack the enemy, and to furnish them sufficient occupation in the defence of their own country.

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In the spring of the following year, Drusus accordingly having returned to his command on the frontiers of Gaul, passed the Rhine, over-ran the territory of the Chatti*, and penetrated to the Weser. In these operations, although the emperor's object, on this and every other service, was merely defensive, it appeared necessary, not only to occupy both banks of the Rhine; but likewise to have fortified stations on the Lippe, from which to observe the Germans in their future preparations to pass the river for the purpose of invading Gaul.

U. C. 724.
Q. Ælius
Tubero,
Paulus Tre-
bius Max.

August.
17mo, Ætat.
51.

Drusus, for his services in this campaign, was saluted by the army, as had been customary in the times of the republic, with the title of Imperator; but this designation having been, for some time, appropriated to the sovereign as head of the armies of the empire, was now, by him, refused to Drusus. The title of Proconsul, with the triumphal robes, were decreed to him instead of the other. On his return to Gaul, the Germans laid an ambuscade on the route by which he was to pass, and threatened his army with imminent danger; but lost the advantage of the disposition they had made, by discovering their posture too soon, and by giving the Romans an opportunity to extricate themselves by a vigorous attack, in which they gained a decisive victory.

Upon the news of this event, which seemed to remove, for some time, the prospect of any further trouble on the side of Germany, it was proposed, once more, to shut the gates of Janus'. But an ir-

* Supposed to be that of Hesse.

† Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 36.

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ruption of the Daci, who passed the Danube on the ice, together with inroads made by the Thracians into Macedonia, and fresh insurrections in Dalmatia, still kept the empire in a state of war.

Lucius Piso, formerly governor of Pamphilia, was employed in repressing the attempts of the Thracians; and Tiberius, in reducing the Dalmatians⁶. The last of these territories, which, in the general partition of the empire, had been committed to the Senate, was now, on account of its frequent revolts, taken under the immediate inspection of the emperor.

While these operations took place, under the officers whom the emperor employed in the provinces, he himself remained at Rome; and the few circumstances which are mentioned, relating to affairs of State in the capital, are characteristic of the times, but not otherwise interesting or important.

The emperor himself, in his capacity of inspector of manners, took an account of the People, paying the highest regard to the distinctions of Senator and Knight, and to the honours which were constituted by titles of office, as those of Prætor and Consul. But these names of distinction, which he affected to preserve, having no real consideration or power annexed to them, only served to remind the People of dignities which no longer existed.

The Senate itself, though filled with persons who bore the titles of Prætorian and Consular, and though, with affected respect, still preserved among the ruins of the commonwealth, being deprived of its antient foundations, underwent a continual decay: and the honours to which citizens had formerly aspired, with so much ardour, were now neglected or shunned with disdain. The wealthy, fearing more the burdens to which they might be exposed, on the supposition of possessing great riches, than coveting the honours to which the quali-

⁶ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 34. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 98.

fication of Senator, intitled them, came to the musters with reluctance, and even concealed their effects.

To counteract this disposition, and to set an example of public duty, the emperor made a fair return of his own patrimonial estate, and, as far as was consistent with his sovereignty, endeavoured to raise the value of subordinate ranks, admitted members into the Senate with lower qualifications than formerly; diminished the *quorum*, or number that was hitherto required to constitute a legal assembly; and, affecting great respect for the proceedings of the Senate, ordered their journals to be regularly kept; and gave this matter in particular charge to the Quæstors.

In other respects, the servility of the times seemed to outrun the exactions of the sovereign. Some of the courtiers, in their desire to flatter, and others, under the fear of being suspected of disaffection, began the practice of contributing sums of money to erect statues to the emperor; and he himself, in consequence of some dream, or directed by some species of superstition, made it a practice, on certain days, to ask, as in charity, from all who came in his way, some small pieces of money. As he was in his temper sufficiently liberal, neither of these practices brought him under any imputation of rapacity. What was contributed to erect statues for himself he employed in multiplying those of the gods, particularly in erecting the allegorical images of Safety, Concord, and Peace. What he received as a charity was returned twofold.

The republican honours, though much faded on every other brow, still bore a considerable lustre among the emperor's titles, made a part of his state, and an engine of his power. Those of the priesthood, in particular, equally suited to every constitution of government, were easily brought in aid of his military power. For this

¹ Sueton. in Vit. August. c. 91.

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reason the title of Flamen Dialis, or Priest of Jupiter, was now added to the other dignities of the same kind which the emperor had recently assumed. It being deemed ominous, and presaging the greatest calamities, if a Flamen Dialis should die in office, this dignity formed an additional guard to the emperor's person. It had been vacant about seventy years from the demise of Merula, who being Consul when Cinna forced his way into the city, and seeing no means of escape, in order to avert from his country the supposed evils which must have followed from his dying in the priesthood, divested himself, stripped the sacred crest or fillet from his hair, and being thus reduced to a private station, cut his own arteries, and sprinkled the altar of Jupiter with his blood.

This ceremony, it was supposed, had averted the evils to which the republic, to expiate the death of this sacred person, would have been otherwise exposed, and the priesthood; had, from reverence to this illustrious martyr, been suffered to remain vacant till a person could be found that was worthy to succeed him; a condition which was now supposed to be fulfilled in the person of Augustus.

W. C. 743.
Julius Antonius Africanus,
Q. Fabius Maximus.
Aug. 18mo,
Ætat. 52.

About this date died Octavia, the widow of Marcellus and of Mark Antony. Her obsequies being performed with great pomp, the emperor himself pronounced the funeral oration, having a screen, as at the burial of Agrippa, to hide the body from his view.

Soon after this event, notwithstanding there was no recent alarm from the enemy on the Rhine, the emperor thought proper to change the place of his residence from Italy to the north of the Alps. Under pretence of observing the storms which still threatened the province of Gaul from the barbarous nations in its frontier, he took his station for the campaign at the confluence of the Soane and the Rhône, and from thence gave his instructions to the two brothers, Tiberius and Drusus, to whom the war was committed on the Save
and

and the Rhine. Both having been successful in the services entrusted to them, joined the emperor at his quarters, and from thence accompanied him to Rome, where they partook in the honours which were paid to him for the success of his arms.

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In the following spring the two brothers resumed their commands, and the emperor returned to his former residence on the Rhône. Drusus passed the Rhine, over-ran the country of the Chatti, and penetrated to the Elbe, where he erected some trophies, and left some monuments of the progress he had made; but on the approach of winter, being obliged to retire, he was taken ill on the march and died.

U. C. 744.
Nero Claudius Drusus,
Q. Fabius Maximus.
Aug. 1900,
Ætat. 53.

Tiberius, who had been sent by the emperor on the first news of his brother's illness, came in time to see him expire. The funeral being to be performed in Italy, the corpse, during the march of the army to the Rhine, was carried by officers of the highest rank. From the Rhine it was conveyed on the shoulders of the principal inhabitants, who received it on the confines of their respective districts, and bore it to the next. Augustus himself, on the occasion, repaired to Rome; but being then in a military character, or in the actual exercise of a military commission, and not permitted, by the ancient forms of the republic, to enter the city, he spoke a funeral oration in the Circus Flaminius, which was without the walls. Tiberius followed the corpse to the forum, and delivered another oration there. The obsequies were performed by persons of the equestrian and senatorian rank. The ashes were deposited in the tomb of Augustus.

The title of Germanicus having been conferred on Drusus, it remained in his family. He had issue two sons and a daughter; the eldest known by the name of Germanicus Cæsar, the younger by the name of Claudius, long neglected on account of his imbecility;

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and the daughter Livilla, hereafter to be mentioned as the wife of successive husbands.

Tiberius, soon after the funeral of his brother, entered the city in procession, to celebrate the success of his arms in Dalmatia. He gave a public feast to the people; and as in this entertainment only one of the sexes could partake, Livia and Julia were allowed to entertain the other.

The influence of Livia, and the elevation of her family, notwithstanding the hopes that were entertained of Caius and Lucius Cæsar, were now apparent, and procured her flattering decrees from the Senate, that were offered in consolation for the loss of her son. Her statue was erected at the public expence, and she herself was vested with the privilege, reckoned so highly honourable at Rome, that of being the parent of three children^a.

U. C. 745.
C. Marcius
Censorinus,
C. Asinius
Gallus.
Aug. 20mo,
Ætat. 54.

In the beginning of the following year Augustus again entered the city in a kind of triumphal procession, carrying his laurel to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, instead of that of Jupiter Capitolinus. But he made no rejoicings, alleging, that he had suffered more by the death of Drusus than he had gained by the success of his arms. The Consuls, however, took charge of the solemnities usual on such occasions, and among the public shows brought forth some captives, whom they obliged, for the entertainment of the People, to fight in the theatre^b.

The period for which Augustus, at his last pretended resignation, had consented to accept of the government, being expired, he affected a purpose, as formerly, to resign the empire; and was again prevailed upon to resume it for ten years more. The decline of the civil establishment, of which he still wished to preserve the appearances, occupied his principal attention. The Senate, as has been ob-

^a Dio. Cass. lib. xxxv. c. 1, 2.

^b Ibid. lib. lv. c. 5.

served,

served, underwent a continual degradation, and its assemblies were neglected. The members excused their neglect, by pretending, that the times of meeting being irregular, they had no proper intimation to attend; and that they were frequently engaged in trials and other public business when the Senate was called.

To obviate such excuses for the future, the emperor appointed ordinary assemblies of the Senate on particular days of each month, and ordered that those days should be kept clear of trials, or any other public business whatever, that might occupy the members. Having formerly reduced the number that was required to constitute a legal meeting, from four hundred to three hundred, he now directed, that in matters of less moment, even fewer might constitute such meetings, and that in fixing the quorum on any particular occasion, regard should be had to the importance of the business before them; that even without requiring the presence of any determinate number, the Senate might form resolutions which, though not accompanied with the force of laws, should nevertheless be deemed of great authority. He, at the same, ordered a list of the members to be published; increased the fine usually paid for absence, and, to facilitate the ordinary course of their proceedings, extended to the Prætors the privilege of making motions, which had been hitherto confined to the Consuls or to himself.

These several resolutions, before they passed into laws, were posted up in the Senate-house, and every person was invited to offer his observations and corrections^a.

About the same time are dated other regulations ascribed to Augustus, of which some related to the conduct of elections, and others to that of criminal trials. As to the first, although every office was filled by his own nomination, he affected to preserve the antient

^a Dion. Cass. lib. lv. c. 3, 4.

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forms; and, in order to give some appearance of reality to the right of election, which he affected to leave with the People, he prescribed rules, which were to be observed in the manner of collecting the votes, and in restraining corruption. Among these it is mentioned, that he ordered, as soon as any candidate had declared himself, he should deposit a certain sum of money, to be forfeited in case he were detected in procuring any suffrage by corrupt means.

In respect to criminal trials, as the subject was more serious, the regulations now made by the emperor were of more effect. In this matter he wished to set aside the forms of the republic, though by evasion, rather than by a formal repeal.

So long as the People were sovereigns of the commonwealth, it was part of the security which, in their collective capacity, they provided for themselves, as individuals amenable to the laws, *that no slave could be tortured to give evidence against his master*. As this law, in the present state of the government, might obstruct prosecutions that were instituted even for the emperor's safety, it was thought necessary to find some expedient by which to elude its force. For this purpose it was enacted, that such slaves as might be wanted in evidence against their masters should be conveyed by a formal process of sale to the emperor, and that, being in his possession, they might be put to the question, or cited as witnesses, even against their former masters.

This act is by Tacitus imputed to Tiberius, and in either emperor was considered as a dreadful innovation²⁰. But the consideration of the emperor's safety was supposed to be a sufficient excuse for any deviation that was made from the forms of the republic.

In whatever degree the present emperor employed, in defence of his person, the severity of criminal prosecutions, and the fear of the

²⁰ Tacit. Anal.

executioner,

executioner, he appears to have relied for his safety more on the disguises under which he concealed his usurpation, and on the moderation and the popularity of his manners. By the respect which he affected to pay to the Senate and officers of State, he held up the forms of the republic as a kind of shield between himself and the zealots of the republican government. He endeavoured to gain the People by his affability, and frequently bore with familiarities from persons of the lowest condition. As an example of the temper with which he endured the saucy or petulant remains of military or republican freedom", it is mentioned, that being called upon to act as counsel in behalf of a soldier who was to be tried for some crime, and having, under pretence of some other engagement, named a friend to undertake the cause: *This*, said the soldier, *is not a proper return to me. In your danger I did not employ a substitute, but interposed myself.* He received with seeming indifference the reports of spies and informers. To a person of this character, who accused Æmilius Ælianus of having frequently traduced him; *Prove me this*, said he, *and I will show Ælianus, that I too in my turn can find faults in his character.* Tiberius having once written him a warm letter, with a complaint of the same kind, he bid him beware of the heats of youth. *It is enough*, he said, *that we can hinder people from doing us any harm"; we may allow them to say what they please.* Yet in this he did not act from contempt of the public opinion; for in some instances he even condescended to answer accusations that were published against his private or public character". His discretion and prudence prevented the occasions of much jealousy and resentment; and, in many parts of his reign, imitated the effects of generosity and elevation of mind, if they did not amount to the real possession of these characters.

" Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 4.

" Sueton. in August. c. 56.

" Ibid.

Augustus having passed the winter at Rome, returned in the spring to his former station in Gaul, accompanied by Caius, the elder of his adopted sons, whom he now proposed to introduce to the military service; and by Tiberius, who, notwithstanding the rise of a new light in the person of the young Cæsar, who threatened to obscure his lustre, continued to receive fresh marks of the emperor's favour, and was considered as a principal support of his government. Being placed at the head of the army on the Rhine, he had charge of the war which had lately been committed to Drusus, his younger brother. But few particulars are mentioned of the campaign which followed in that quarter. He is accused, in one instance, of having violated the public faith, by having seized as prisoners, and sent in chains to different parts of the Roman provinces, the deputies of some German nations, who came in a public capacity to treat of peace; and of having laid waste the country in the neighbourhood of his province.

The Germans, however, were probably rather incensed than subdued by these measures. Their deputies, who had been made prisoners, that they might not be employed against their own nations as hostages, put themselves to death; and their countrymen retained the most vehement purpose of revenge. But whatever may have been the result, it is mentioned, that Augustus received from the army the title of Imperator, and gave this title likewise to Tiberius; that he put him in nomination for Consul on the following year, and, at their return to Rome, permitted him to make his entry into the city in triumph, while he himself declined the honour.

Soon after the emperor's arrival in Italy, he suffered a great loss by the death of Mæcenæ. This event made a breach in the civil department of his affairs, not less than that which the death of Agrippa had made in the military. The predilection of this minister

for learning, and the intimacy in which he lived with persons of the best and most elegant accomplishments, who were recommended to him merely by their merit, has made his name proverbial among those of the patrons of letters. His inclination in this matter, if it did not form the taste of his master, happily concurred with it, and brought him acquainted with those elegant productions of genius which occupy the affections, as well as the fancy; and which, in a situation otherwise likely to instill pride, jealousy, and distrust of mankind, served at once as an antidote to these evils, and opened the way to better dispositions. Mæcenas had served his prince with great fidelity, and, if not insensible to personal ambition, was at least satisfied with the elevation he had gained in the confidence of his prince. He retained the equestrian rank to which he was born, without endeavouring to accumulate the preferments or titles which were so much an object of ambition in the earlier part of this reign, and so easy an acquisition in the latter part of it²³. It is observed, however, that he experienced, as is common, some vicissitude in his master's temper, and outlived the high measure of favour which he enjoyed, but without any interruption of his duty. As he lived, when most in favour, without any public envy, so he escaped every public insult when supposed in disgrace. While he presented the Emperor with a continual model of elegance, ingenuity, and good temper, he took the liberty to check his passions, and served him no less by the sincerity of his speech, than by the ability of his conduct. An instance of the freedom he took is mentioned on occasion of a trial in which Augustus himself, according to custom, sat in judgment on some criminals of State. Mæcenas observing him agitated with passion, and likely to pronounce some precipitant or cruel sentence, and being hindered by

²³ Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. c. 30.

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the crowd from reaching his ear, handed a billet to him, which contained no more than two words, which may be translated into this homely expression, *hangman, begone* " ! The admonition, however, had its effect, and the emperor adjourned the court.

The minister left his whole estate, as was the fashion of the age, to the emperor's disposal " .

U. C. 746.
Tiberius
Claudius
Nero, Cn.
Calpurnius.
Aug. 21mo,
Ætat. 55.

By these successive diminutions of the list of confidents, on whom Augustus relied for the administration of his government, the influence of Livia, and the fortunes of her son Tiberius, received a continual advancement. The latter, after he had resumed the military habit, in his capacity of commander of the armies on the Rhine, being to enter on the office of Consul, was received by the Senate in the Curia Octavia, beyond the walls of the city. In his address to this assembly he spoke of the public works which he proposed to erect. Among these a Temple of Concord, to be inscribed with his own name, joined with that of his brother; and of another temple, to be dedicated by himself, in conjunction with his mother Livia. He gave, in her name and in his own, upon this occasion, splendid entertainments to the Senate, and to persons of distinction of both sexes. Having vowed an exhibition of public shows for the safe return of the emperor from his last campaign, he made all the necessary provision for the performance of his vow; but being obliged to set out for the army, he trusted the discharge of this duty with Piso, his colleague in the Consulate, and with Caius, the eldest of the emperor's sons.

This solemnity received a great addition from the sports and entertainments which were given at the same time by the emperor

* Surge, Carnifex.

" The same year in which Mæcenæ died put a period likewise to the life of Horace.

That of Virgil ended about ten years before.
Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 7.

himself, to celebrate the memory of Agrippa, at the opening of the portico, of the hall, and of the pleasure-grounds which had been bequeathed by that officer to the Roman People¹⁷. Gladiators were exhibited at first in single pairs, afterwards in numerous parties, that fought as in real battles. Such was the ferocity of the Romans in the choice of amusements, even after the character of the people ceased to be military, and when the public entertainments, formerly perhaps in part intended as nurseries for soldiers, had no longer any other object than that of ministering to their pleasure.

The Cæsars, Caius and Lucius, though yet too young for business of State, began to feel the spur of ambition, and were alarmed at the advancement of Livia's family. Even their own step-father, Tiberius, they were taught to consider as a rival in consideration and power. And it is said, that, in order to keep pace with him in his advancement to public honours, the youngest of the two brothers made application to be vested with the dignity of Consul. The proposal was received by the People with applause, but discouraged by the emperor, who, reflecting, as he pretended, on the presumption of his own youth, or on the necessity of the times which had brought himself forward into this station at an improper age, was pleased to say, "That he hoped never again to see a time when the office of Consul must be intrusted to a person under twenty." To pacify the young man under this disappointment, he was advanced to the dignity of the priesthood, got admission into the Senate, and had a place among the members of that body at the public theatre.

Soon after this date Tiberius, probably in consequence of the jealousy he had thus given to the emperor's adopted sons, underwent a great and a sudden change in the state of his fortunes. Upon his return from the campaign on the Rhine, he was vested with the cha-

U. C. 747.

D. Lelius

Balbus,

C. Antistius

Vetus.

Aug. 22do,

Ætat. 56.

¹⁷ Dio, Cass. lib. lv. c. 8.

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rafter of Tribune of the People for five years; and, under pretence of a war likely to arise on the Euphrates, from the defection of the King of Armenia, who was disposed to join the Parthians, he was appointed to command the armies in Syria; but it soon after appeared, that this preferment and change of station were devised to conceal a species of exile or removal from the court. At his departure from Rome, he passed into Asia; but, instead of continuing his route to his pretended destination in Syria, he withdrew to the island of Rhodes, where, under pretence of study, he lived some years in retirement.

U. C. 748.
Imperator
Cæsar 12mo.
P. Cornelius
Sylla.

Aug. 23tio,
Ætat. 57.

U. C. 749.
C. Calpurnius
Sabinus,
L. Passienus
Rufus.

Aug. 24to,
Ætat. 58.

U. C. 750.
L. Cornelius
Lentulus,
M. Valerius
Messala.

Aug. 25to,
Ætat. 59.

U. C. 751.
Imperator
Cæsar 13tio,
Ab. M. Plau-
tus Silanus,
Caninius
Gallus.

Aug. 26to,
Ætat. 60.

The real cause of this retreat of Tiberius, whether the jealousies of the young Cæsars, the misconduct of Julia, or any other offence taken by the Emperor himself, was never known; and we are deprived of any light which might have been thrown by Dion Cassius on this, or the transactions of some of the succeeding years, by a manifest breach in the text of his history. This defect is very imperfectly supplied from Xiphilinus, Zonaras, or any other of the abreviators or copiers of this historian.

In collecting from such authors, what is little more than the names of Consuls, which serve to mark the progress of dates, we learn, that in the first year after the retirement of Tiberius, the Emperor himself having persisted, for seventeen years preceding this date, in rejecting the office of ordinary Consul, now again accepted of it; that he intended, in this character, to solemnize the admission of his sons Caius and Lucius to the age of manhood¹¹; that the ceremony was accordingly performed with respect to the eldest, who now assumed the ordinary dress of a man, was brought into the Senate, and declared chief of the Roman youth¹²; but with respect to the youngest, that it was deferred till about three years afterwards, when the Emperor again appeared in the character of Consul.

¹¹ Sueton. in Octav. c. 26.

¹² Zonaras, lib. x. c. 35.

In one of the years of this period, or about the year of Rome seven hundred and fifty one, is fixed by the vulgar computation the commencement of our æra at the birth of Christ; an event, not calculated to have an immediate influence on the transactions of state, or to make a part in the materials of political history, though destined to produce, in a few ages, a great change in the institutions, manners, and general character of nations.

At this date, from the imperfect records which remain, we have scarcely any materials of history, besides the occurrences of the court, and the city of Rome; the public entertainments that were given, the occasions on which they were exhibited, and the provision that was made in the capital for the subsistence and pleasure of an idle and profligate populace.

The Emperor having again assumed the office of ordinary Consul, that he might preside at the admission of his younger adopted son, Lucius Cæsar, to the age of manhood, continued to hold the office no longer than was necessary for this purpose. He exhibited magnificent shews as usual upon this occasion, and among others, one that is mentioned probably as a novelty, a shoal of six and thirty crocodiles of uncommon size, turned out to be hunted or fished in the basin of the Circus Flaminius²⁰. While the Emperor gratified the People in their public diversions to a degree of debauch, he made some attempts to regulate the gratuitous distribution of corn, that other principal engine of abuse which the Roman citizens, though in other respects fallen from their sovereignty, still carefully retained among the relics of their democratical government.

The People of Rome, so long as they could overawe the Senate by their assemblies or tumults, and so long as they had the disposal

²⁰ Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 10.

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of preferments and honours, bartered their suffrages for sports and distributions of corn. For these too, they were now willing to sell their submission to the present establishment, and it was undoubtedly more safe to have deprived them of every other prerogative, than to restrain them in these. The numbers that were accustomed to receive corn at the public granaries, as we may judge from the number of two hundred thousand, to which it was now proposed to reduce them, had increased to an immoderate height; and as the circumstance of being subsisted gratuitously, encouraged idleness, so the very attendance required at these monthly distributions gave a considerable interruption to labour. The Emperor endeavoured to apply some correction to both these evils, by reducing the number of pensioners, and by limiting the times of distribution to three particular terms in the year". But in making this attempt he received so many complaints, that he was obliged to lay aside the design.

A populace thus supported in idleness must likewise be amused, and they received, in this particular, from their masters, whether acting from choice or policy, not only in the first period, but, in the subsequent ages of this monarchy, the most lavish indulgence. By Augustus in person, they were presented at different times with four capital exhibitions, consisting of all the entertainments in which they were known to delight, and with three and twenty great festivals, solemnized in honour of some other persons, as of his father Julius Cæsar, of his nephew Marcellus, of his friend Agrippa, and of his young relations now entering into manhood, and coming to the possession of public honours.

The sports themselves, though fierce and irrational in many instances, were splendid, magnificent, and sometimes interesting. The presence of the Roman People, in vast spaces or theatres fitted up to receive them, was always awful and sublime. The préce-

²² Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 10.

dence of rank at these entertainments, was considered, even under the republic, as a principal object of state. The first benches were reserved for the Senators; the next, at certain periods, had been allotted to the Equestrian order; and the question, whether this order should be mixed with the People, or separated from them, made a subject at different times of much dispute and contention. The female sex too had their places, though at the fights of gladiators they were removed to a distance, being seated behind the other spectators; and from the athletic games were excluded altogether²².

The coarseness, nevertheless, of those public entertainments to which the Roman women were still admitted; the want of any interval, in their manners, between a rigorous severity, and the other extreme of an unbounded licence, had, in many instances, the worst effect on their conduct. The Emperor himself had a distressing example of this effect in his own family, by the flagrant debaucheries of his daughter Julia, who, having once quitted the reserve, and broke through the austerities of her father's house, had no longer any restraints of decency or established propriety to regulate her behaviour. It was reported, that without any pretence of seduction, affection, or choice, she multiplied her paramours indefinitely, and even frequented the places of public debauch.

The Emperor, though not supposed to be wanting in the tenderness of a parent, upon the detection of these disorders, proceeded against his daughter more with the rigour of an offended magistrate, than with the reluctant severity of a father. In the first transport of his passion, he hastened to lay her accusation before the Senate, and obtained from this assembly an act of banishment against her, by which she was removed to a small island on the coast, reduced to low diet, and forbid to receive any visits; a species of imprisonment,

²² Sueton. in Octav. c. 44.

which

which became common in the sequel of this, and the subsequent reigns.

Scribonia, the mother of this unhappy exile, now arrived at a great age, and preserving, in a state of separation from her husband, an unblemished reputation, gave way to the feelings of nature, and followed her child into this place of retreat or imprisonment. The father too, upon reflection, grievously lamented his rashness, in publishing, by a reference to the Senate, the scandal of his own house, and bitterly regretted the severity by which he had empoisoned and rendered incurable the wounds of his own family. *If Agrippa or Macenas had lived, he was heard to say, I should have been restrained from this act of imprudence*.”

In the sequel of this transaction, he indulged his resentment with less struggle against the supposed partners of his daughter's guilt; ordered Julius Antonius, with some other persons of high rank involved in the same charge, to be put to death. With respect to one of these criminals, who happened to be vested with the character of Tribune, he affected a regard to the ancient laws of the republic, and was pleased to respite the execution of the sentence, until the time of his office as Tribune should expire. Being told that Phœbé, the freedwoman and confidant of Julia, when she heard of her mistress's fate, had put herself to death; *I had rather be the father of Phœbé, he said, than of Julia.*

Persons who were disposed to pay their court, ever ready to seize the opportunity, took occasion to flatter the Emperor, even on occasion of this painful transaction. They hastened to shew themselves in a situation like that of the prince, and to offer him the consolation of fellow sufferers in the distress he endured; made complaints in the Senate of the licence of their daughters and of their wives, and even

²³ Seneca de Ben. c. 32.

raked up particulars of a very obsolete date. They too brought formal prosecutions, in order to obtain the interposition of law and public authority, to restrain the disorders of their children; but the Emperor received this species of courtship with indifference, and refused to hear any accusation, of which the subject had preceded a fixed and very recent date²⁴.

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We are left at a loss for the sequel of this history, during the two years that immediately followed; but in a period, of which these were the principal transactions, we cannot be surprised that the chronicle is defective, nor indeed greatly regret the silence of a few years.

U. C. 752.
Cassius Cor-
nelius Len-
tulus L. Cal-
purnius Piso.
Aug. 27mo,
Ætat. 61.

The ordinary administration of Augustus, in pursuing the political, civil, and military forms, which he had established, no doubt was able and successful; but being once described, does not admit of repetition. The more interesting subjects of history, transactions that rouse the passions, and keep in suspense the expectations, the hopes, and the fears of men, were in this reign most carefully avoided. A powerful army was stationed on the Rhine, to keep the peace of that frontier. Even the court was lulled into perfect tranquillity by the want of any competition for the Emperor's favour. This point being fully decided, by the place which was occupied by the Cæsars, Caius, and Lucius; their supposed rival Tiberius, who had been sacrificed to their jealousy, still remained in his exile at Rhodes.

U. C. 753.
C. Cæsar,
Aug. Nepos,
L. Emilius
Paulus.
Aug. 28vo,
Ætat. 62.

The defection of Armenia from the alliance of the Romans to that of the Parthians, the occasion upon which it had been pretended that Tiberius was destined to command in Asia, still subsisted; but the command of the armies in that part of the world, with the charge of recovering the kingdom of Armenia to its former state of dependance on Rome, was committed to Caius Cæsar, now first in

U. C. 764.
P. Vinucius
Affinius
Varus.
Aug. 29no,
Ætat. 63.

²⁴ Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 10.

the favour of the Emperor, and highest in the expectations of the People.

It was thought proper, that both the brothers, about this time, should be sent to the command of armies; Caius to that of Syria, and Lucius to Spain; and these removals of the young Cæsars from court, were supposed to be devised or procured by the Empress Livia, because they made way, in a little time afterwards, for the recall of her son²³.

But before any resolution taken at court in favour of Tiberius was publicly known, Caius Cæsar, in his way to the East, arrived in Greece, attended by a numerous train of officers. At Chios, he received a visit from Tiberius, professing the most submissive respect to the prince himself, and to the officers of his court; and from thence continued his route through the province of Asia, every where received as the son of the Emperor.

The king of Parthia, upon the arrival of the young Cæsar in his neighbourhood, desired to have a conference with him, and they met on the Euphrates in a small island, each having an equal number of attendants. They afterwards mutually accepted of entertainments from each other in their respective quarters. Phraates agreed not to support the Armenians in their defection from the alliance of the Romans, and Caius proceeded to take possession of their country, as a province of Rome. On his approach to Antagera, a place on the frontier of Armenia, the gates being shut against him, he presented himself under the walls, and while he summoned the governor to surrender, was struck by an arrow from the battlements. The wound he received, though in appearance not mortal, affected his health, and threw him into a state of dejection and languor, in which he desired to be recalled from his station, and expressed his disgust to affairs of state.

²³ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 103.

Caius being permitted to retire from his command by the Emperor, who was mortified to find in him a pusillanimity so unworthy of the son of Agrippa, and of his own successor, was carried to the coast in a litter, and there embarked for Italy; but having on his way put into a port of Lycia, he died at Lymira in that province.

Lucius, the other grandson of Augustus, by his daughter Julia, died some time before at Marseilles, in his way to Spain; and these deaths happening so opportunely for the family of Livia, laid this designing woman under suspicion of having been active in procuring them. The bodies of the deceased were borne through the provinces by officers of rank, and by the principal inhabitants, to be interred at Rome. Their shields and lances, richly adorned with gold, being gifts made to them by the Equestrian order, when they were admitted to the age of manhood, were hung up as monuments in the hall of the Senate²⁶.

About this time, the third period of ten years, for which Augustus had accepted of the government, being expired, he went through the form of laying down, and of re-assuming his power.

The People, at one of the entertainments which were given on this occasion, having applied to the Emperor an applauded passage of some poet, with the title of *Lord* or *Master*, he gave signs of displeasure, and, on the following day, published a severe edict, forbidding the title of *Master* being given to him by any person, or upon any occasion whatever²⁷. *My name is Cæsar*, he said, *and not Master*.

Augustus was now in the decline of life, had survived his principal confidants and friends, his nephew and grandchildren, on whom he had rested his hopes. He had been recently dishonoured in the conduct of his daughter, and had bound himself, by a formal

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U. C. 755.
L. Ælius
Lamia,
M. Servilius
Nepos.
Aug. 30mo
Ætat. 64.

²⁶ Zonaras, lib. x. c. 36. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 102, 103. Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 11, 12.

²⁷ Orosius, lib. vi. fine.

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act of the Senate, to persist in the rigour of his treatment towards her. In these circumstances, it was thought that intercessions in favour of a child must be flattering to the father, and many applications were accordingly made in her behalf; but he remained inexorable, and being guided intirely by the influence of Livia, cast himself upon her family as a last resource. Under these circumstances, and from the approach of old age, he was observed to languish, and to lose much of his former vivacity.

Tiberius had been recalled to Rome soon after the departure, and before the death of the two Cæsars. Upon this last event, he was adopted by the Emperor; but on condition, that he himself, though a father, having a son already mentioned of the name of Drusus, by his first wife Vipsania, should nevertheless adopt Germanicus Cæsar, the son of his brother, who being elder than his own son, was intended to have the advantage of seniority in all their future pretensions.

U. C. 756.
Sext. Ælius
Catus,
C. Sentius
Saturnius.
Aug. 31mo,
Ætat. 65.

This successor to Agrippa and his family, being now the adopted son of Augustus, and heir apparent of his fortunes, had every where a numerous attendance of persons who wished to pay their court. Being appointed to his former station, at the head of the armies on the Rhine, his progress through the provinces to that frontier, was marked by the multitudes who flocked from all quarters to receive him. In his first campaign he penetrated to the Weser, and over-ran all the nations of that neighbourhood²⁵.

The Emperor, relying upon his newly adopted son for the conduct of the war on the Rhine, remained at Rome, where he was employed chiefly in reforming the Senate, and in rebuilding the palace which had been lately consumed by fire. In the last of these works, he had offers of assistance from many of the Senators, and from persons of his court, who brought him considerable sums in the way of voluntary contri-

²⁵ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 104.

butions. Being unwilling, however, to let the burden thus fall entirely upon persons the most attached to himself, he laid a tax of twenty-five denarii on each corporation, and a capitation of one denarius on each private person; and having from this fund rebuilt the palace, which had hitherto been accounted a private property, he declared it for the future a public edifice, destined as a mansion for the supreme commander of the army, and head of the empire²⁹.

Ten commissioners being appointed to inspect the rolls of the Senate, and to restore its dignity, the first measure proposed for this purpose was to take away all appearance of constraint, and to leave every member at liberty to resign his seat; but the greater number, either fearing to be marked out as disaffected to the present government, or willing to partake in the bounty of Cæsar, who, in many instances, repaired the fortunes of Senators that were gone to decay, still continued to hold their places, and affected zeal for the forms on which Augustus was pleased to rest his authority.

In this and other instances, it is instructive to observe with what care this sovereign of the empire endeavoured to flatter the vanity of Roman citizens, and to preserve the distinction of ranks, while in reality his policy was calculated to remove all distinctions, to render all ranks equally dependant on himself; or, if any distinction were suffered to remain, tended in the sequel, or under his successors, to render the most honourable conditions the least secure.

Augustus had returns made of all the most respectable families in Italy, and of those who had a property of above two hundred sestertia³⁰. He laid great restraints on the manumission of slaves; a practice by which he alleged, that the privileges of Romans were rashly prostituted to the refuse of all nations, and to the meanest order of men. The Lex Ælia Sentia, which took its name from one

²⁹ Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 12, 13.

³⁰ About 1600l.

of the Consuls of this year, had, for its object, the reformation of this abuse. By this law was fixed the age at which a master should have the power of setting his slave at liberty, and the age of the slave at which he might be set free, together with the mutual rights and privileges of the patron or former master, and of the freed man, or emancipated slave²⁹.

As the present government began to have proscription, as well as expediency on its side, every attempt on the emperor's life had the criminality of treason, and must have been condemned upon every consideration which established monarchy can suggest. Whoever made such an attempt might be considered as a dangerous and ill-advised assassin, who attacked the community itself in the person of its sovereign, and whose crime, in that particular instance, tended to involve the world anew in anarchy and bloodshed.

The privileges or pretensions of citizens, under the republic, were long since effaced. But a very few were left who had enjoyed, or even could remember the existence of them; yet private resentment, or the remains of republican zeal, and the supposed right of every person to repel usurpations, had produced some attempts of this sort during the present reign. Even in this advanced period of it, a conspiracy was detected, in which Cornelius Cinna, a grandson of Pompey, and descended of that Cinna, who, together with Caius Marius, was once at the head of the popular faction, formed a design to suppress the present usurpation of Cæsar, and to restore the republic, in which his ancestors had made so conspicuous a figure.

Augustus was greatly perplexed on the discovery of this plot; and having already, on like occasions, exhausted the means of severity, was now, it is said, persuaded by Livia to try the effects of clemency, and of a generous confidence. "This conduct," she observed, "would

²⁹ Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 13.

* tend to disarm his enemies, and would interest numbers in his pre-
 " fervation by the ties of affection and gratitude."

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The emperor, being accordingly prevailed on to take this course, ordered that the conspirator should be introduced to his presence, gave him to understand, that his guilt was discovered, and his accomplices known, remonstrated against an attempt so ungenerous and unprovoked, but relieved the young man of his fears, by assuring him of pardon, and of every other species of protection for the future. In these assurances he even went beyond what mere clemency required, affected to upbraid the author of a design on his own life with false modesty, in not demanding the honours to which he was justly intitled by his birth; and concluded with saying, That, as he trusted they were from henceforward to be friends, he should be glad to receive his applications in any matter by which he could contribute to his advancement or interest; and, in the mean time, named him for Consul at the next succession to this dignity.

In this year are dated, among other measures, some regulations which were made by the emperor for the better government of the army; and, what was scarcely less important in the opinion of the times, for the conduct of entertainments in the public theatres. The military establishment consisted of six-and-twenty legions²⁰, with nine or ten Prætorian bands, composed of a thousand men each. Augustus, to restore the honours of the military character, had, from the beginning of his reign, made it a rule to exclude from his armies, as much as possible, all emancipated slaves. This exclusion, together with some reformatations which diminished the profits formerly enjoyed by military men, rendered it extremely difficult, upon any sudden emergency, to complete the legions. Augustus found himself obliged to increase his bounty in order to recruit the army; but instead of

U. C. 757.
 Cn. Corne-
 lius Cinna
 Magnus.
 L. Valerius,
 Messala Vo-
 lusus.
 Aug. 32do.,
 Ætat. 66.

²⁰ Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 23. Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 5.

giving more to those who enlisted, or increasing his levy-money, he chose to engage them by the hope of future advantages, to be reaped after certain periods of dutiful service. In the Prætorian bands, he made a regulation, that, after sixteen years service, the veteran should be intitled to his dismissal, and a premium of twenty thousand sesterces³¹. In the legions, after twelve years service, that he should be intitled to twelve thousand sesterces³²; and, as a fund for these payments, it is probable that the tax of a twentieth on all legacies bequeathed to strangers, heirs of choice, or to distant relations, was imposed about this time. This tax did not extend to the inheritance of the ordinary heir at law, nor to legacies³³ made to the poor, or to persons in indigent circumstances.

With respect to the public entertainments, fresh regulations were made to keep places in the Circus for Senators and Knights, apart from the commons, or lower class of the People.

It being observed, that the office of Ædile, which formerly included the care of all public entertainments, was avoided; and that even the dignity of a vestal, which was wont to be so much desired by the most honourable families at Rome, ceased to be in request, it was decreed, that all the Quæstors of any preceding year should cast lots for the office of Ædile; and that the rules restricting the choice of Vestals to persons of the most noble extraction, should now be considerably relaxed, or dispensed with; so that women, even descended from enfranchised slaves, might be admitted into this order: a very unlikely way to engage persons of superior rank to adopt it.

This year Agrippa Posthumus came of age, and assumed the dress of manhood; but, though adopted, as his elder brothers had been, into the family of the emperor, he appears not to have been thought worthy to replace them; and being obscured by the riper age and superior favour of Tiberius, he passed through this ceremony

³¹ About 160 l.³² About 100 l.³³ Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 24.

with fewer demonstrations of consideration or respect from the People than had been paid to his brothers. CHAP.
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The public was alarmed with earthquakes and inundations of rivers, which, however destructive, were considered more as the presages of future calamities than as present evils, and their significance in that point of view was confirmed by a famine, which immediately followed or accompanied these events. The inundation of the Tiber had overflowed the city for many days, so as to make it necessary to pass through the streets in boats. The markets could not be supplied; and this circumstance, joined to a real scarcity, which kept up the prices after the inundation subsided, occasioned a dearth which lasted for some years.

During this time of distress, it being thought impossible to find the usual supply of provisions, it was judged necessary to lessen the usual consumption; and for this purpose all gladiators²², all slaves kept for sale, and all foreigners, except physicians and public teachers, were ordered to be removed a hundred miles from the city²³. Even the servants and attendants of the court were dismissed in great numbers, and a vacation was proclaimed in the courts of justice, in order that as many as could possibly be spared from the city should depart. The attendance of Senators was dispensed with, and the law requiring the presence of certain numbers of that body to give validity to their acts was suspended. Commissioners were named to inspect the markets. All feasting, on the birth-day of the emperor, or on other days of rejoicing, was prohibited; and persons, wont to receive any part of their subsistence in corn from the public granaries, had double the usual quantity served out to them.

Notwithstanding these measures taken for the relief of the People, their discontents breaking forth in libels and seditious complaints, re-

U. C. 758.
M. Æmilius
Lepidus,
L. Arantius,
ex Kal. Jul.
Calicus
Caius Vibius.
Aug. 33tio,
Ætat. 67.

²² Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 22.

²³ Sueton. in August. c. 42.

wards were published for discovering the authors, and some being detected, were brought to trial, and punished³⁵.

The emperor now willing, from the decline of his age, to be relieved of part of the ordinary business of State, intrusted the receiving of foreign ambassadors to three persons whom he chose from the Senate. At the same time he himself, with his ordinary council, continued to deliberate on all questions which arose relating to the internal government of the empire. He appears to have committed himself, without any prospect of change, to the influence of Livia and her family; and, to confirm him in this disposition, had frequent visits from Tiberius, who, though generally stationed on the frontier of the empire, carefully attended to the state of his interests at Rome, as they stood both with the emperor and with the people.

In the tide which was thus turned in favour of the Claudian family, the surviving Agrippa seemed to form an insurmountable bar; but this young man, being of a rude and brutal disposition, gave his antagonist every advantage in their supposed competition. Having, about this time, given some flagrant proof of this character in his behaviour to Livia, and even to the emperor himself, he was degraded from his place in the family of Cæsar, and sent, under a military guard, to the island of Planasia, near to Corsica, where he remained a prisoner during the remainder of this reign³⁶.

From the disgrace of Agrippa Posthumus, it was no longer doubtful that Tiberius was destined to inherit the fortunes and power of Augustus. He alone was entrusted wherever great armies were to be assembled, and was employed in every service that was likely to end with lustre. Troubles on the frontier of Asia or Africa were entrusted to other hands; but the harder struggle with the Germans, Dalmatians, and other fierce nations of Europe, was committed to him. After having penetrated, in his last campaign, to the Weser and the

³⁵ Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 26.

³⁶ Ibid. lib. lv. c. 32.

Elbe", he was called off to support his nephew and adopted son Germanicus, who, commanding the army on the side of Dalmatia, found himself too weak to execute the service on which he had been employed.

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The provinces east of the Hadriatic, and from thence probably to the Danube, had formed the plan of a general revolt. It was reported, at this time, that those nations could assemble eight hundred thousand men, and that they had two hundred thousand foot properly armed, with nine thousand horse. Being so powerful in point of numbers, they were enabled to divide their strength, and to carry on operations, at the same time, in different places. They destined one part of their force to invade Italy, by Tergesté and Nauportus; another to take possession of Macedonia; and a third to defend their own possessions at home. They had now joined to their own ferocity a considerable knowledge of the discipline and forms of the Roman legion, and conducted their present design with so much address as to escape observation until it was ripe for execution. They gave the first intimation of their hostile intentions by a general massacre of the Romans, who, as provincial officers or traders, were settled in their country, and cut off all the military posts which had been advanced to protect them. They entered Macedonia without opposition, and with fire and sword laid waste all the possessions and settlements of the Romans in that province".

U. C. 759.
A. Licinius
Nerva Ælia-
nus, Q. Cæ-
cilius Metel-
lus Creticus.
Aug. 34to,
Ætat. 63.

Such was the beginning of a war with the barbarous nations of the northern and eastern frontier of the empire, which, during some ages, was, at intervals, interrupted and resumed, often put Italy itself upon the defensive, was always formidable, and at last fatal to the sovereignty of Rome.

U. C. 760.
M. Furius
Camillus,
Sext. Nonius
Geuntelia-
nus.
Aug. 35to,
Ætat. 69.

³⁷ Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 27—30.

³⁸ Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 110.

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The Romans, by the continual labours of seven centuries, had made their way from the Tiber to the Rhine and the Danube, through the territory of warlike hordes who opposed them, and over forests and rugged ways that were every where to be cleared at the expence of their labour and their blood: but the ways they had made to reach their enemies were now open, in their turns, for enemies to reach them. The ample resources which they had formed by their cultivation encreased the temptation to invade them, and facilitated all the means of making war upon their country. By reducing the inhabitants of their provinces, in every part, to pacific subjects, they brought the defence of the empire to depend on a few professional soldiers who composed the legions.

U. C. 761.
Q. Sulpicius
Camerinus,
C. Poppæus
Sabinus, ex
Kal. Jul.
M. Papius
Mutilus,
Q. Poppæus
Secundus.
Aug. 36to,
Ætat. 70.

Under apprehension of these circumstances, Augustus was heard to say, on the present occasion, That if proper measures were not speedily taken for the defence of Italy, an enemy from the Danube and the Rhine might, in ten days, be seen from the battlements of Rome. New levies were accordingly made, and the order not to enlist emancipated slaves was suspended. The veterans, who had been discharged from the legions, were again ordered to repair to their colours; and citizens of every condition were required to furnish, in proportion to their estates or possessions, certain quotas of men for the service.

While the People, under so many symptoms of trepidation, were made sensible of their danger, Augustus seems to have thought it a proper opportunity to renew the part he had often acted in recommending population and marriage. He called together, in separate assemblies, first the married who had families of children, afterwards the barren and the unmarried; and finding the superiority of numbers on the side of the latter, expressed his concern in a public address to the People; enlarged on the consequences of population to the safety and prosperity of the commonwealth; revived the marriage-laws, and, by an

act

act which took its name from Papius and Poppæus³⁹, Consuls of this year, gave additional rewards to the married, and laid new penalties on celibacy, with a considerable premium to the prosecutor by whom any person should be convicted of this offence.

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Before these regulations should be enforced, a year was allowed to the unmarried to change their condition; and the rigour of former laws⁴⁰, respecting the inheritance of women, which had hitherto been restricted to a hundred thousand sesterces⁴¹, was considerably abated. Females were allowed to inherit a larger sum; and, the better to testify the homage that was paid to female virtue, the Vestals were admitted to partake in the privilege of Roman parents having three children⁴².

In the mean time, great efforts were made to keep the enemy at a distance, and to fix the seat of the war in their own country. Tiberius advanced for this purpose into Dalmatia, and the emperor himself set out for Ariminum, that he might be nearer the scene of operations to receive reports, to profit by intelligence, and to give his directions. He had, for some time, empowered the Senate to continue their proceedings in his absence; as he ceased to attend the Comitia or assemblies of the People, he made free with their privileges; and, under pretence of disorders occasioned by the elections, took upon himself the nomination of magistrates, or signified his choice to the Tribes by a writ of recommendation. Public prayers were now offered for his preservation; and at his departure from the city, as if he were going on a service of great danger to his person, many vows were made, and sacrifices destined to be offered up in case of his safe return⁴³.

Although the force of the empire was not yet fallen so low as to justify so much apprehension, the alarm nevertheless continued for three years⁴⁴.

³⁹ Lex Papia Poppæa. ⁴⁰ Lex Voconia. ⁴¹ About 800 l. ⁴² Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 1, 2, 10.

⁴³ Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 34.

⁴⁴ Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 114.

Tiberius,

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Tiberius, upon his arrival in Dalmatia, found the barbarians, who had invaded that country, commanded by two leaders of the names of Bato and Pinetes. He formed his own army into three divisions, commanded by Germanicus, Sylvanus Lepidus, and himself. By this disposition he began his operations in three different quarters at once.

U. C. 762.
P. Cornelius
Dolabella,
C. Junius Si-
lanus, ex.
Kal. Jul.
Ser. Corne-
lius.
Aug. 37mo,
Ætat. 71.

In the service which was committed to Sylvanus Lepidus, he met with little resistance. Where he himself commanded, the Romans were long detained in the blockade of a castle, which being built on a rock, was rendered inaccessible by the height of its situation, and by the depths of the glens and gulleys that were formed by the torrents with which it was surrounded. Bato had taken post in this place with a numerous body of his countrymen; and being provided with necessaries, endeavoured to tire out the enemy. But he himself, in the end, being weary of his inactive and hopeless situation, found means to escape, and left the remains of his countrymen, worn out with want and impatience, to surrender at discretion.

Where Germanicus commanded, the enemy had taken refuge in Anduba, a fortress similarly situated with the former; but which, after repeated attacks, was at last put into his hands by the dissention of the barbarians who defended it. These, having quarrelled, turned their swords mutually against each other. One of the parties set the quarters of their antagonists on fire, and both fell an easy prey to their enemies. Many of the women, to avoid captivity, threw themselves, with their children, into the flames⁴⁵. Bato soon after surrendered himself; and being asked, What tempted him to make war upon the Romans? made answer, "You affect to treat every nation as your flocks and your property; but you in-

⁴⁵ Dio. Cass. lib. lvi. c. 12, 14, 15.

⁴⁶ trust

"trust the care of them to ravenous wolves, not to shepherds and their dogs".

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At the close of the war, the title of Imperator, with the triumphal ornaments, were decreed to Tiberius, and to his adopted son Germanicus⁴⁷: but in the midst of the rejoicings which were made on this occasion, accounts of a different nature were received from the Rhine.

The Romans, wishing to command the passage of the river, had occupied, as has been observed, some country, and fortified some stations on the German side. By this disposition it was intended, in case the Germans should attempt a descent upon Gaul, that part of the Roman army should be so placed as to remain in their rear. And indeed while they kept possession of the navigation of the river, and of both its banks, they, in some measure, rendered every such attempt impracticable. In consequence of this disposition, the Germans had, for some time, discontinued the practice of making incursions into Gaul. They were become familiar with the Roman army that was stationed in their country, exchanged commodities with the Roman traders, and began to imitate their manners.

Such was the state of the nations situated between the Rhine and the Wefer, when Quintilius Varus, who had been left by Tiberius in the command of the German frontier, began to consider the natives of the country around him, as ripe for the ordinary impositions which the Romans had on their subjects, and made some exactions for the supply of his army.

Some chiefs or leaders of the neighbourhood, particularly Segimerus, prince of the Chatti, and his son Arminius, had observed, with indignation, these encroachments of the Roman general, and the gradual decline of their country into a Roman province. Being

⁴⁶ Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 56.

⁴⁷ Ibid. lib. lvi. c. 17.

at the head of a powerful canton, and much respected by all the nations of that quarter, they entered into a concert to cut off all the Romans that were posted on the German side of the Rhine; and to restore the independence of their People. They concealed their design by redoubling their attention to the Roman general; took their residence in his quarters, and applied to him for decision in all the disputes which arose among the natives; made him acquainted with the weaknesses and the strengths of their country, and served him as guides in conducting the marches, and in fixing the stations of his army.

While, by these artifices, Segimerus and Arminius lulled the Roman general into perfect security, they had their followers ready to assemble under arms, and brought all the chieftains of their neighbourhood under engagements to join them, as soon as their design should be ripe for execution. They proposed to draw the Roman general into a situation in which he could be attacked with advantage, while they themselves, without giving him any alarm, should have a pretence for advancing towards him with all their forces.

To effect both these purposes, they procured an insurrection of some of the cantons over which Segimerus claimed a supremacy, and implored the assistance of the Roman army in suppressing the revolt. Varus, apprehending that the safety of the Romans, in all their possessions beyond the Rhine, depended on the support he should give to their allies, put his army in motion to quell this pretended rebellion, and advanced through difficult ways into the interior parts of the country. On this march he was attended by Segimerus and Arminius, and supplied with every requisite to promote the service, or to ensure its success. These chiefs had assembled their forces, and brought forth the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, under pretence of acting as irregulars to cover the march of the Roman legions. In performing this service, they pervaded the marshes and woods

woods in his front, on his flanks, and his rear, and had actually surrounded him, when he came upon the ground on which they proposed to make their attack.

Here the forests and marshes were extensive and impassable, except by a single tract. The Romans were crowded together, and entangled with their baggage; and being in this condition attacked from every quarter at once, were unable to resist or to escape. Varus succeeded in gaining an opening which appeared at some distance in the woods; and there, with as many as could follow him, attempted to intrench himself; but the greater part of the army fell by the hands of the enemy. At night, seeing no hopes of a retreat, the general himself fell upon his sword, and by his example induced many officers and soldiers to employ the same means of avoiding the cruelties or insults to which they were exposed.

A few having found means to retire under cover of the night, made their way to the Rhine. Here they were received by a party sent upon the first news of their disaster by Asprenas from Gaul, to favour their retreat.

It had been concerted by the Germans, that on the same day every Roman post in their country should be attacked. Lucius Ceditius, who commanded at Aliso, now supposed to be Elsemberg, being surrounded by superior numbers, forced his way through the enemy, and, under the greatest distresses, arrived on the Rhine. All the other posts were forced, and the troops who had occupied them taken or killed. Among the former Calvus, an officer of rank, being a prisoner and in irons, upon some insult that was offered to him, struck himself in the head with his chains and expired.

The Romans, on this occasion, lost three entire legions, or about eighteen thousand foot, and a considerable body of horse. Asprenas having remained on the German side of the Rhine only until he had

collected the remains of the Roman army which had escaped from this calamity, withdrew into Gaul, and made dispositions to prevent any commotions in that province.

The first accounts of this disaster were received at Rome with the highest degree of consternation. The victorious enemy having cut off what was considered as the strength of the empire on the Rhine, were supposed to be following at the heels of the messenger who brought the news. Guards were posted in different quarters of the city to prevent disorders, and to quiet the fears of the people. A proclamation was issued to suspend the changes usually made in the provincial appointments, and requiring every officer to continue in his present command until express orders were given to the contrary. The sacred records were consulted, to find what religious processions or ceremonies had been performed on the invasion of the Cimbri, and on the breaking out of the Marfic war, and the same rites were now to be repeated. The emperor put on mourning, and for some months carried in his looks, and in the neglect of his person, every appearance of distress⁴². It was given out that, in the first transport of grief, he struck his head on the wall of his chamber. The Germans and Gauls, that were at Rome, were secured and sent into the islands on the coasts of Italy. All citizens were ordered to arm, and many disappeared from the streets, to avoid being pressed to serve in the legions.

There remained a great army on the establishment of the empire; but this army being dispersed over an extensive frontier in Asia and Africa, it was not supposed that a sufficient force could be brought from thence in time to protect the capital against an enemy who was believed to be hastening to its gates. Very violent means were therefore employed to form an army in Italy, and men were forced under arms by the terror of military execution. The forces which were

⁴² Sueton. in Octav. c. 23.

brought

brought in this manner to the emperor's standard were placed under the command of Tiberius; and, as fast as they could be put into a regular form, began to move towards Gaul.

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In these measures the Romans acted more from their own fears, than from a just apprehension of what was to be expected from the enemy. The most active and vigorous conquerors can seldom act up to the fears of those they have vanquished; and the Germans, on this occasion, content with having freed their own country from the presence of a Roman army, made no attempt to pursue their victory, and remained quiet in their own possessions⁴⁹.

In the following summer Tiberius and Germanicus, to recover the credit of the Roman arms, having passed the Rhine, laid waste the adjacent country, but not meeting with an enemy, returned without having given occasion to any other signal event. They supposed that the natives were retired from the frontier, in order to tempt them to follow into the forests of that impervious country, and to engage them in difficult situations. But having done enough to enable the capital to recover from its panic, they brought back in Autumn the Roman army into Gaul, and from thence themselves returned into Italy.

U. C. 763.
M. Æmilius
Lepidus,
F. Scatillus
Taurus,
ex Kal. Jul.
L. Cassius
Longinus.
Aug. 38vo,
Ætat. 72.

In this year Drusus, the son of Tiberius, acted in the capacity of Quæstor; sixteen Prætors were employed. In the year following the number of these magistrates was reduced to twelve. It being alleged that governors of provinces, to preclude the complaints which were often made against them upon their removal, extorted attestations and complimentary addresses from the people they had oppressed, it was enacted, that no governor should receive any honorary gift or attestation from his province, during the continuance of his power, nor sooner than six months after his return to Rome.

U. C. 763.
Aug. 38vo,
Ætat. 72.

⁴⁹ Dio. Cass. lib. lvi. c. 23, 24.

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The age of the emperor now led men to think of his successor; and predictions of his death were furnished abroad. This probably gave occasion to the edict which forbade soothsayers to utter predictions relating to the life of any person whatever. Among the circumstances that characterise the manners of the times, it is said, that Roman knights, or citizens of quality, had permission to exhibit themselves as gladiators³⁰.

U. C. 764.
Germanicus
Cæsar,
C. Fonteius
Capito,
ex Kal. Jul.
C. Vespellius
Varro.
Aug. 39no,
Ætat. 73.

Tiberius, at his return to Rome, after the noted services he had performed on the Save and the Rhine, had a triumphal entry. In ascending the Capitol he dismounted from his carriage, and threw himself at the feet of the emperor, who stood in the way to receive him³¹. After the procession was over, shows were exhibited by Germanicus, in which two hundred lions were hunted down; and a portico, which Livia had erected to the memory of Caius and Lucius Cæsar, being dedicated about this time, served to increase the solemnity.

Of the Claudian family, on whom the sovereign power seemed already to devolve, Germanicus, the grandson of Livia by Drusus, the younger of her sons, was most in favour with the People. He was recommended by an appearance of openness and candour in his manners, and by the facility with which he engaged, according to the custom of the antient republic, in the defence of his clients, and in pleading their causes, whether before the emperor himself, or before the ordinary judges. Tiberius, on the contrary, seemed to be of a dark and suspicious temper, and was supposed to cover, under the appearances of moderation, which he studied to preserve in public and in presence of the emperor, a jealous and cruel disposition. But Livia, who, in the present period of her husband's life, had the entire government of him, preferred her son to her grand-

³⁰ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 120. Dio. Cass. lib. lvi. c. 25. ³¹ Sueton. quoted by Piso,

son, and employed all her influence to make the choice of a successor fall on Tiberius. CHAP.
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The emperor, in the mean time, pleased with the respite from trouble which these delegates of his power endeavoured to procure for him, reposed himself much on their care, and was pleased to be supplied with every change of amusement or pleasure for which it was known that he had any relish²². He was attended by agreeable women, musicians, comedians, and even declaimers on favourite topics in philosophy, who made a part of the scene at the close of his ordinary meals. At his entertainments he treated the guests with presents of dresses, trinkets, or money, and amused them with lotteries, in which they had chances that intitled them to prizes of different values, or with auctions of pictures, in which, the back of the picture being turned to the company, they bid upon chance²³.

Of these pastimes some were probably the amusements of the emperor's old age, and marked the decline of life. In his more vigorous years, we may suppose him to have been sufficiently occupied with the business of State, and with the attention which he gave in person to every question that arose in the government of so extensive an empire. Every transaction was still communicated to him, and dispatched in his name; but from the symptoms which he gave of an inclination to retire from affairs, it is probable that his application was greatly abated. So long as he was accustomed to attend the Senate in person, he generally received, on the days of their meeting, the compliments of the members at his own house or in the forum; from thence was conducted by them to the place of assembly, and, before they proceeded to business, commonly went round a circle of those who were present, and spoke somewhat obliging to each. This par-

²² Sueton. in August. c. 71.

²³ Ibid. c. 74, 75.

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particular is mentioned, as a proof of his affability and condescension; but was in reality the highest circumstance of State which he ever assumed. As a private person, in the vigour of life, he suffered himself to be treated as an equal, and made one at the entertainments and parties of pleasure that were made by his friends; but in the decline of life, as he withdrew from the Senate, so he desired to be excused from receiving the visits of the members, or even of his private friends; and, under pretence of being much occupied with the troubles which still subsisted on the frontiers of the empire, he declined going into company upon any occasion whatever*.

U. C. 765.
C. Silius,
L. Munatius
Plancus.
Aug. 40mo,
Ætat. 74.

While the emperor thus, in a great measure, withdrew from the public view, the fourth period of ten years, for which he had accepted of the government, being about to expire, he again resumed his command with the usual forms, prolonged the tribunitian power in the person of Tiberius for other five years, and permitted his son Drusus from being Quæstor, to be entered on the list of Consuls without passing through the rank of Prætor.

Augustus, in entering upon this new period of his government, in which he was no longer to attend the Senate in person, received from this body, by a formal act, full powers, with the advice of his ordinary council, to determine all questions of State, and, with the concurrence of his adoptive children, to enact laws of equal authority with those he had formerly passed in the Senate. These powers he had already exercised; and we may suppose them to have been thus formally conferred upon him, chiefly that it might be made to appear how far the family of Livia, now included in the same act, were raised to an avowed participation of the imperial authority.

The first consultations of this new legislature were employed on the subject of the penal laws, which having remained without any

* Dio. Cass. lib. lvi. c. 26.

considerable change from the times of the republic, were still, in respect to the forms of trial, better calculated to protect the subject than to gratify the passions of the sovereign. Banishment, by which, under the republic, criminals were at liberty to evade any sentence, and which, in reality, had nothing grievous besides the circumstance of their being obliged to travel from Rome, and to forego city preferments and honours, was, by a regulation now made, rendered more severe, and not suffered to remain, as the courtiers termed them, a mere elusion of justice. Under a sentence of banishment, by this regulation, the exile was no longer at liberty to choose the place of his retreat, nor suffered to retain his effects. He might reside in any island surrounded with fifty miles of sea, and in some islands which were mentioned, as Cos, Rhodes, Lesbos, and Sardinia, though less remote; but he was entirely debarred from the continent. He was allowed to retain of his estate, if it amounted to so much, five hundred thousand sesterces³⁶, and might have a ship of a thousand amphoræ³⁷, and two boats with twenty servants or slaves; but was not at liberty to pass from one island to another, nor to change the place of his abode.

So far the transition from the jealousy of the citizen against the severities of government, which is a part in the spirit of liberty, to the jealousy of the prince against the licence of his subjects, which equally belongs to monarchy, was abundantly mild; but even this law, under the prospect of its immediate application, gave weight to the chains with which every citizen already felt himself loaded. The subjects of prosecution that were likely to draw the animadversion of a despotic court, were not injuries to society and offences to human nature, which the ingenuous ever wish to shun, as well as to restrain;

³⁶ About 4000*l*.

³⁷ The amphora, according to Arbuthnot, contained about seven gallons.

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but rather want of submission or respect, libels, petulant freedoms, and even merit itself, if such as to excite the jealousy of superiors. The new law, indeed, by the directions contained in it to take cognizance of libels and defamatory publications, under the denomination of treason, seemed to point chiefly at this species of guilt; but it was not the law itself, so much as the arbitrary application of it, that was likely to deprive every Roman of that degree of security or personal freedom to which he still had pretensions⁵⁶.

U. C. 796.
Sext. Pompeius, Sext.
Apuleius.
Aug. 41mo,
Ætat. 75.

In the same year mankind had still more reason to be alarmed; Tiberius was associated with Augustus in the government, and declared to have equal power with the emperor himself in all the provinces within his department⁵⁷. On this occasion the new associate in the empire, to raise his consideration and to amuse the People, exhibited no less than three separate triumphal processions; at the end of which⁵⁸, there being some disorders subsisting on the side of Dalmatia and Illyricum, which seemed to require his presence; and he being to set out for this province, Augustus was pleased to accompany him on the road to Beneventum. They went to Astura by land; but as Augustus, when the wind was favourable, always preferred going by water, they embarked at this place, and steered for the coast of Campania. On their passage, Augustus was seized with a dysentery, but continued, as on a party of pleasure, to visit the different islands in the bay of Naples. At Capreae he passed some days with uncommon gaiety, and without appearing to suffer much from his distemper. At Naples he attended the public sports which were given upon his arrival. From thence he continued his route to Beneventum, where Tiberius, being to embark at Brundisium, took his leave, and the emperor set out on his return to Rome. But

⁵⁶ Dio. Cass. lib. lvi. c. 27, 28. Tacit. Ann. lib. i. c. 72.

⁵⁷ Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 121.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

finding his strength decline on a sudden, he halted at Nola, a place in which his family had originally some possessions, and at which his father died. From the time of his arrival at this place he refused to listen to any business³⁹. On the morning of the 18th of August, he asked if his illness had caused any tumults or insurrections, called for a mirror, and desired to be dressed. He said to those who attended him, "What think you now? Have I acted my part properly?" then repeated the form with which actors commonly end the representation of a play, desiring the audience, that if the piece was to their liking they should applaud⁴⁰. "I found," he said, "a city of brick, and changed it into marble." In this he alluded to his policy in the State, as well as to his buildings at Rome.

Augustus died at three in the afternoon of the eighteenth of August, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His body was transported from Nola to Bovillæ, carried by the magistrates of the several towns on the route. They moved in the night, and halted by day, to avoid the heat of the season. At Bovillæ it was received and carried forward to Rome, by a numerous company of the equestrian order.

The Senate met to deliberate on the honours to be paid at the funeral; and the members vied with each other in the proposals they made to exalt the dead, and to express their own sorrow⁴¹. Some proposed, that the funeral procession should pass through a triumphal arch, preceded by the statue of Victory; and that the ceremony should conclude with a solemn dirge, or song of grief, to be performed by the children of all the principal families in Rome. Others moved, that on the day of his funeral the noble Romans should exchange the gold ring, which was the badge of their rank, for one of

³⁹ Sueton. in August. c. 100.⁴⁰ Ibid.⁴¹ Ibid.

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iron ; that the ashes should be collected from the funeral pile by the highest order of priests.

At this funeral, in whatever form it was executed, two orations were pronounced ; one by Tiberius, who had been recalled on the near approach of the emperor's death ; the other by Drusus, the son of Tiberius, on whom the name and inheritance of Cæsar had now devolved.

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The Will of Augustus.—Review of his Reign.—And of his Character.—Tiberius returns to Nola.—Issues without delay his Orders throughout the Empire.—In the Senate affects Reluctance to charge himself with the Government.—Mutiny in Panonia—On the Rhine.—Second Mutiny on the Arrival of Deputies from the Senate.—Imposture of Clemens.—Plot of Libo.—Description of Tiberius.—Death of Germanicus—And Trial of Piso.

AUGUSTUS had made his will about sixteen months before he died, bequeathing two thirds of his estate to Tiberius, the other third to Livia, with an injunction to take the names of Julia and Augusta: In succession to Livia and her son he substituted the younger Drusus, the son of Tiberius, for a third; and overlooking Claudius, one of the sons of the elder Drusus, and grandson of Livia, he bequeathed the remainder to the brother, Germanicus Cæsar, and his offspring, already consisting of three sons and as many daughters*. To this numerous list of heirs he substituted an ostentatious catalogue of principal citizens and Senators. But persisted so much in his severity to the unhappy Julia, as to forbid her a place in his monument. As a legacy to be distributed to the Roman People, he bequeathed four millions of sesterces, or about thirty-three thousand pounds sterling: as a fund for the tribes or wards of the city, to defray their respective corporation expences, he bequeathed three millions five hundred thousand sesterces, or about

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* The three sons were Nero, Drusus, and Caius or Caligula; the three daughters Agrippina, Drusilla, and Livia or Livilla.

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twenty-nine thousand one hundred and sixty-six pounds sterling; to the Prætorian bands one thousand sesterces, or about eight pounds sterling a man; to the Cohorts of the city five hundred, or about four pounds sterling a man; to the Legions three hundred, or about two pounds ten shillings a man*. These sums he ordered to be paid immediately; leaving money in his coffers sufficient for this purpose. Other legacies, of which some did not exceed a hundred and sixty, or a hundred and seventy pounds sterling, he directed to be paid at different times, and alleged the scantiness of his estate, from which his heirs were not likely to draw above a hundred and fifty millions Roman money, or about one million three hundred thousand pounds sterling. The sums which he had received in legacies, amounting to about eleven millions sterling, he had expended in public works.

After his will was read, four separate memorials were produced. The first contained instructions for his funeral; the second, a list of the actions which he wished to have recorded on his tomb; the third, a state of the republic, including the military establishment, the distribution of the legions, the revenue, the public disbursements, the money actually lodged in the treasury, the arrears of taxes that were due, with a reference to the persons in whose hands the vouchers were to be found.

The fourth memorial contained political instructions or maxims, in which he dissuaded the people from the too frequent manumission of slaves, and from the too easy admission of foreigners to the dignity of Roman citizens; and recommended filling offices of State with persons of experience and reputation. The public service, he observed, never should be entrusted to a single officer, nor all the powers of the commonwealth be suffered to accumulate in the hands of any one person. Such exclusive trusts, he said, must lead to

* Dio. Cass. lib. lvi. c. 32. Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 8.

abuse,

abuse, and end in a scarcity of persons fit to be employed. Such were the arguments of Catulus and Cato, when they pleaded against the exorbitant powers of Pompey and Cæsar; and the reasonings now ascribed to Augustus seem to be borrowed from theirs, and with too little regard to the difference of persons and times.

It is said, that in this memorial the emperor concluded with an injunction not to attempt any farther conquest, or any farther extension of the empire.

Such are the principal circumstances upon record, from which we are able to collect the character of this celebrated reign. The immediate effects of it, in many parts, appear to have been splendid and salutary. Among these we are to reckon the cessation of wars, and reformation of government in the Roman provinces. Under this establishment, instead of the Consuls, who, being annually elected by the People, as often renewed the passion of their country for war and conquest, there began a succession of emperors who were addicted to sloth and sensuality, more than to ambition; or if disposed to war, who in youth, or in some particular period of life, exhausted their passion for military fame, and became from thenceforward a powerful restraint on the ambition of their own officers. These they considered as rivals and objects of jealousy, or as dangerous instruments, ever ready to involve them in wars abroad, to disturb their government at home, or to divert their revenue from those pleasurable applications in which they wished to employ it.

Whatever was lost to citizens of rank or high pretension at Rome, by the establishment of the monarchy, was gained to the other subjects of the empire. The provinces, from being the temporary property of individuals, and stript to enrich a succession of masters, became the continued subjects of a sovereign, who, as often as he

³ Dio. Cass. lib. lvi. c. 32. Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 8.

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understood his own interest, protected them against the oppression of his officers, and spared or nursed them as a continual source of revenue and of power to himself.

While these desirable effects naturally resulted from the new establishment, many circumstances of great lustre in the history of the age were ascribed to the sovereign. The seeds of ingenuity and of liberal arts, which had been sown, and which were already sprung up with so much vigour under the republic, now began to be reaped in a plentiful harvest.

Literature, and all the more agreeable fruits of ingenuity, received under the first Emperor a peculiar degree of attention and encouragement. Augustus was himself a proficient in letters, or, willing to be amused with the pursuits of the learned, read his own productions in the circle of his friends; and, what is more difficult for an author, heard without jealousy the compositions of others, by which his own were probably far excelled. He had saved from the wreck of his enemy's party, protected from the oppression of his own, and selected, as his favourites, the most ingenious men of the times*. By his munificence to these, his own name, as well as that of his minister, has become proverbial in the history of letters, and is deeply inscribed on monuments which can never perish, except by some calamity fatal to mankind.

The provinces greatly diversified in respect to situation, climate, and soil, as well as in respect to the arts which they severally possessed, having the benefit of general peace, and the protection of a common sovereign, reaped the advantage of an easy communication and a flourishing trade. All the surplus wealth of the more cultivated parts of the earth being drawn to the capital, and being at the disposal of single men, was expended in works of magnificence, and if not

* Horace was saved from the route of the republican party at Philippi; and Virgil, from among the sufferers ejected from their property, to make way for the army of Caesar.

of utility, at least of splendid caprice. From this fund, were erected those magnificent fabrics, of which the ruins still mark the place on which stood the capital of the western world. The empire, at the same time, in all its parts, received those improvements which are the ordinary attendants of opulence and peace. The lands were cultivated; cities were built, adorned, or enlarged.

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The rough and vigorous hands by which this great empire was formed, had carried the balance and the sword of state before they could manage the tools of the more ordinary and inferior arts, and had given empire to their country, before they had provided for themselves the ordinary means of accommodation or pleasure. A Roman citizen was not an artist, but he was a man fit to command every artist. He was possessed of courage, penetration, sagacity, and all the advantages which constitute the personal superiority of one man over another. As a warrior and statesman, he was the reverse of those ingenious and feeble subjects, of whom each professes a particular part in the science or practice of human affairs, but of whom none is qualified to direct the whole.

In proportion, however, as this nation of masters forced into their service the industrious and the learned in different parts of the earth, the practitioners of every art, and the professors of every science flocked to the capital. Their productions, though spurned and rejected at first, were received by degrees, and in the reign of Augustus found the most ample rewards. By these means, the practice of every art was introduced at Rome, even Romans were taught to become artists and mechanics, and, by following a multiplicity of inferior pursuits and occupations, were taught to lower the haughty spirit of the conquerors of the world, to the level of the nations they had subdued.

In the times immediately preceding the civil wars, foreign letters, though fondly received by many of the first citizens of Rome, were

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still a novelty, and considered by the People as a foppish affectation. But the leaders in this fashion being the first officers and greatest men of the State, as Lucullus, Cicero, Cato, and Cæsar; such illustrious examples soon removed every prejudice, and engaged, in the pursuit of learning, every talent that could be diverted from the more violent pursuits of ambition or pleasure.

The civil wars for some time retarded the progress of letters; but when brought to an end, left the public in possession of the bias it had received. Octavius himself having, in his youth, received this bias, was probably in his patronage of the learned, more led by inclination, and less by mere policy, than he was in other parts of the conduct with which he gained the favourable opinion of the world. He loved correctness and accuracy in all his compositions, and never delivered his mind on any serious matter, even in his own family, without memorials or written notes.

Although the effects of this reign, therefore, in many of the particulars we have mentioned, were the sequel of mere peace, and of the respite which the world began to enjoy from the disorders with which it had been lately afflicted, much likewise may be ascribed to the personal character of the prince. After the secure establishment of his power, his government began to be distinguished by appearances of moderation and justice, supported, in this part of his life with a regular and ordinary tenor, which does not warrant any doubt of his sincerity, or any suspicion of an intention to impose upon the world, some purpose different from that which he professed to have in view.

In his character of legislator, he generally submitted his intended acts to public inspection, encouraged persons of every description to offer amendments, and sometimes adopted those which were offered to him. In the exercise of the executive power, he took the assist-

⁵ Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 21.

ance of a chosen council, with whom he deliberated on the ordinary measures of state. In accepting of the honours which were offered to him, he checked instances of extreme servility, and acquitted himself with great liberality or moderation in the use of the powers, which the flattery of dying persons frequently gave him over their families and estates. He became the guardian, rather than the coheir, of the orphans, with whom he was joined in the fathers will. Some he put in the immediate possession of the whole inheritance; others, while under age, he treated as his wards, and brought up with every advantage to the enjoyment of their fortunes, which they often received with considerable additions, made either by his care or by his bounty.

But what is of all other circumstances most peculiarly characteristic of this reign, was the judgment and address with which the Emperor repressed the licence of the military, to whom he owed his own elevation; the artful policy by which he affected to restore some fragments of the civil government that he himself had broken down, and the caution with which he retained the character and profession of a civil magistrate and of a citizen, while he governed as master. Joined to these, we may reckon the able choice which he made of officers fit to be trusted in the different departments of the public service; the constancy with which he persevered in employing them, and the liberality with which he made them feel that the prosperity of his fortunes was their own. While he gave these indications of a great mind, and possessed these powerful supports of a prosperous life, he dispensed with much of the flattery that is paid to princes, and in conversation encouraged the manners of a free and equal society*.

How then are we to decide upon his character, marked by appearances of perfidy, cruelty, and even of cowardice in some parts.

* Dio. Cass. lib. lvi. c. 43.

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of his life, distinguished by moderation, clemency, and steadiness in other parts of it? Are we to suppose what the Emperor Julian insinuates², that Octavius received in the later period of his life new lights, was become a new man, and that, by the lessons of Zeno, at an earlier period, this Cameleon might have fixed his colour, and been from the first, what he appeared to be in the last state of his fortunes, a real friend to mankind? The authority of Julian, no doubt, is highly respectable; but if a person in youth carry the marks of a bad disposition, and deliberately commit atrocious actions when his interest required them, we are still warranted to question the sincerity of his conversion, though, in a different state of his interest, even the whole tenor of his life should change.

Octavius does not appear to have had from nature, in any high degree, those dispositions to benevolence or malice which are the great distinguishing principles of virtue and vice. He seems to have been indifferent to mankind; but desirous of consideration and power, as objects of interest to himself. His ruling passion was a desire to reign. In his way to this end, he committed many crimes; but having once effected his purpose, he had no other criminal dispositions to gratify: or, after he was sovereign, standing in awe of a free spirit which he durst not insult, he, either from inclination or policy, and probably in part from both, preferred, as it is surprising that every one else does not prefer, the proper use of his power to the abuse of it.

Upon this principle, in a life so varied as that of Octavius, appearances of cruelty and of clemency, of caution and of enterprise, of violence and of moderation, may have equally found a place in the course of his actions. And in his person, we may read the same character of ambitious design, when he affected to join the Senate in

² Vid. *Cæsar* of Julian,

restoring

restoring the republic, or when he signed a warrant for the murder of those who were inclined to support that form of government; when he courted the protection of Cicero against Antony, or when he sacrificed the life of Cicero to the resentments of his enemy; when he made or broke off his treaties of marriage, and fought for aids to his ambition, even in the choice of his licentious amours; when he pardoned, and when he executed those who were detected in designs against his own life.

If we state ourselves therefore as judges on the solemn appeal which Augustus on his death-bed made to the sense of the world, it is probable, that as he was in some degree able to redeem, in the administration of his sovereignty, the enormities which he had committed in obtaining it, we shall not bestow upon him neither the epithets of reproach and of infamy, which he appears to have deserved in the early period of his life, nor those terms of encomium and praise, which he seems to have merited in the longer and more elevated parts of his reign. Neither the friend nor the enemy of mankind, he was, by his personal and interested ambition, the cause of harm and of good; but upon the whole, if the history of the establishment made by him were to terminate with his own life; if the tranquillity of his reign be compared with the troubles of the preceding period; it will furnish, to those who contend for the preference of despotical government, an occasion of triumph.

Justice and peace are at all times the great objects of attention and care to mankind; but the degree in which they can be obtained, and the means which may be employed to obtain them, are different in different circumstances; different on the supposition of small or extensive states, of poor or of rich nations; and, in some circumstances, they may no doubt be better obtained by the wisdom and discretion of a single person, than by any system of public councils or popular assemblies, which the people to be governed are themselves fit to

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compose. When this is the case, it is fortunate that single men are found, who, without any criminal inclinations, are willing to undertake the government of nations. A succession of such characters, indeed, is more than human nature, by any known rule of substitution, whether by inheritance or by election, can continue to furnish. It is well, if, in a series of ages, where the government of the world is committed to the discretion of an individual, the good in any degree compensate the bad.

As Augustus had, to the last moment of his reign, affected to hold the sovereignty by a mere temporary appointment, he could not, in consistence with his own professions, either name a successor, or dispose of the empire as the inheritance of his family. At his death, therefore, some persons might hope to see the commonwealth restored; others might wish to see the late contest for dominion revived, and many questions might have arisen, that would have involved the empire in fresh trouble. These questions, however, with the projects or hopes that might be founded upon them, were in a great measure prevented, by the precaution which Livia had taken in having her son Tiberius, during the lifetime of the late Emperor, associated with himself in the government.

When Augustus was seized with his last illness, Tiberius, in the capacity of his associate in the empire, as has been mentioned, set out for the armies in Dalmatia; but he received on his way, a message from his mother, intimating the last symptoms of approaching death in her husband. Upon this intimation, he returned to Nola, and arrived either before Augustus expired, or before his death was publicly known; and having given out, that, in a conference with that experienced prince, he had received his last instructions for the government of the empire^a, he took hold of the

^a Sueton. in vit. Tiber. c. 21.

reins the moment the other was supposed to have dropped them, assumed his usual imperial guards, and, by sending orders to all the provinces and military stations, took upon him to continue the same model of government, without any cessation or interval whatever*.

The new Emperor, with the usual precaution to stifle competitors, ordered Agrippa, the surviving grandson of Augustus, to be put to death, and took every other effectual measure to secure his own accession. At the same time, either in imitation of the cautious policy of the late Emperor, or in pursuance of that hypocrisy and dissimulation to which he himself had been long accustomed, and to which he was naturally inclined, he affected, in his correspondence with the Senate, to pay the utmost deference to their authority, and, in his letters, took care to employ all the modest expressions of a private citizen.

Being Tribune of the People, he ventured only in this capacity, he said, to call upon the Senate to give their orders respecting the funeral of Augustus. For his own part, he had taken his place by the corpse of the deceased, and in nothing else could take any public function upon him. The Senate, he continued, would be pleased to order the guards that might be necessary to preserve the peace, and they would take every other precaution for the regular performance of this solemn duty.

When the funeral was over, and the Senate was assembled for the opening of the will and memorials of the late Emperor, Tiberius delivered himself in a voice, interrupted with sighs and tears; he observed, that a heavy burden, by the death of the only person who was able to bear it, had now devolved upon them all; that having himself been admitted to some share in the government, he had learned how arduous a task it was to be charged with the whole of

* Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 3.

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it, and had learned to make a proper estimate of his own abilities²²; but that in a state which could boast of so many illustrious men, they could not be limited in their choice, nor obliged to commit to one, what was sufficient to occupy the talents and abilities of many.

While he spoke to this purpose, and observed the aspect of his audience, frowning particularly upon those who gave any signs of assent, his known reputation for falsehood, the inconsistency of his actions with the professions which he now made, the murder of Agrippa, and the military guard which attended his person, effectually preserved the members who were present from becoming the dupes of a dissimulation, which it was equally dangerous to reject too abruptly, or to mistake for sincerity.

Most of the members, though sufficiently trained in the school of Augustus, to know the part they were to act on such occasions, had not yet performed this part upon such dangerous ground. They affected to believe that Tiberius was sincere, lamented that there should be any reluctance to accept of the government in the only person who was qualified to undertake it, and they beseeched him not to desert the republic in this extremity.

As the Senators vied with each other in these feigned importunities, Tiberius seemed to be distressed, though not persuaded; and after he had remained some time undecided, in the end, as weary and silenced, though not convinced, he withdrew without making any reply, or without waiting for any formal resolution of the Senate. In passing through the crowd, he was heard to say, "That a heavy load indeed had been laid on his shoulders, but that it could not be expected he was to bear it for ever; that old age at least must soon entitle him to respite." At the same time, those who were supposed to be most in his confidence, gave out, that his concern

²² Variè differebat de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia. TACIT.

for the public, and the intreaties of the Senate, had prevailed upon him to accept of the government; but the ridicule, which it was not permitted the Senators to observe, was seized by the People. "Few men," it was said, "can perform all that they undertake; but this man, with a wonderful modesty, refuses to undertake even what he performs".

While Tiberius, with so much palpable and even unnecessary craft, acted this farce in the Senate, his title to the sovereignty underwent a more serious discussion in the provinces. The legions which were posted in different stations, though long confined under the authority of an able reign to the strictest duties and ordinary advantages of their profession, still retained the impression of their own importance, and of their power to dispose of the empire. They recollected what some of them might have seen, and all of them had heard, of times in which they were courted by their leaders, retained with presents or gratuities, and rewarded at the expiration of their service with grants of land, and settlements in the richest and most cultivated districts of Italy. They had waited with impatience for an opportunity to give a new master to the world, and hoped that, in performing this service, they might recover their consequence, and be entitled to rewards, such as military men had formerly received.

It cannot be doubted, that if there had been any officer at the head of the principal armies on the Rhine or the Danube, prepared to avail himself of this disposition of the army, the sword in the present, as in many other instances, must have decided who was to succeed in the throne of Cæsar; but Augustus having, in the choice of provincial and military commanders, guarded against any danger to his own government, had by the same means provided for the security of his successors. The persons he employed, besides those of

" Sueton. in Tiber. c. 24. Dio. Cass. lib. lvii. c. 1.

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his own family, who depended entirely upon himself, were, for the most part, men of moderate ambition or mean pretensions; so that there was not now any person of rank prepared to take part in the revolts of the army.

Germanicus, the nephew and adopted son of Tiberius, might, by his popularity and by his pretensions, have become a formidable rival to his uncle, but was restrained by his moderation and the sense of his duty. A mutinous spirit nevertheless broke out first in Panonia, where three legions were commanded by Junius Blæsus; and afterwards on the Rhine, where a great division of the Roman armies, consisting of eight legions, were distributed in different stations, under the chief command of Germanicus himself.

The troops, not having at any of their stations persons who were qualified to direct their discontents against the succession of Tiberius, clamoured only for an augmentation of pay, and an earlier discharge from the service, than, by the regulations of the former reign, they were allowed to expect. "Doomed," they said, "to drag out a life of hard service for thirty or forty years, and at the end, as their reward, to be banished to some barren mountain or sickly morass, which, under the name of a settlement or grant of land, they were required to cultivate or to drain, it was time that some regard should be paid to their merits, some relief provided for their sufferings." They contrasted their own condition, for ever stationed in the presence of ferocious enemies, and subsisting on ten Asses a day, with that of the Prætorian bands, having double their pay, and placed at ease amidst all the comforts and pleasures of the capital.

Excited by these considerations, the legions in Panonia refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new Emperor, until their grievances should be redressed. They secured their colours, set at liberty all those who were confined for any military crime, and ceased to obey

their officers, or to pay any regard to the ordinary duties and forms of the service. CHAP.
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Tiberius, though greatly alarmed, and sensible that this attack on his authority only needed a fit leader at the head of a few legions to reach him in the capital, and to supplant him in the empire, disguised his apprehensions, [and proposing to soothe the discontents of the army, deputed to their quarters his own son Drusus, accompanied by Elius Sejanus, a young man already associated with his father Sejanus, in the command of the Prætorian bands.

These young men, in the capacity of commissioners, attended by many persons of rank and consideration from the city, escorted by two cohorts of chosen men, together with the greater part of the Prætorian cavalry and the German horse, which usually attended the person of the Emperor, set out on their mission. They were furnished with a letter to be read at the head of the troops, but were empowered, without any specific instructions, to take such measures as the occasion might suggest. Having effected their march into Panonia, and approaching the station of the mutinous legions, they were received in the front of the camp by the whole body, but with an aspect rather of contumacy, than of respect or of duty.

The son of the Emperor was conducted to the platform, from which it was usual for the troops to receive the commands, and to hear the addresses of their general. Having with some difficulty procured silence, he produced the letter which he had brought from his father, and which he had in charge to be communicated to the legions.

In this letter, Tiberius endeavoured to flatter and to soothe the discontents of the army; but to avoid committing himself too far, spoke of his intentions in general and ambiguous terms. "He might assure these brave legions," he said, "with whom he himself had so often acted, that they were the principal objects of his care;

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“ that as soon as he should recover his mind from his present grief,
 “ he would move the Senate to take their just pretensions under con-
 “ sideration; that, in the mean while, he had sent his own son in
 “ order, without loss of time, to accommodate them in every thing
 “ that depended on himself; that many things must be referred to
 “ the Senate, a wise and experienced council, who were not likely
 “ to withhold the proper indulgence from those who remained in
 “ the discharge of their duty, or to fail in the necessary rigour to
 “ those who ventured to depart from it.”

After this letter was read, a centurion, who had undertaken to answer for the legions, made a demand in their name, that their pay should be sixteen Asles a day instead of ten, and that they should be entitled to their discharge at the end of sixteen years, without being obliged, in the usual way, after they were supposed disqualified for the ordinary fatigues of the service, still to remain with their colours.

To these demands, Drusus declined giving any answer. “ The mat-
 “ ter should be reported to his father,” he said, “ and referred to the
 “ Senate.” Upon this reply, a general clamour arose. “ Wherefore
 “ was he come, if not entrusted to relieve the army? He had no
 “ powers to relieve, but he had unlimited powers to distress, and
 “ to punish. So the father himself was accustomed to serve them,
 “ while he came to elude the prayers of the soldiers, by referring
 “ them to some one else, who was at a distance. Are we never,”
 they said, “ to see the face of the Emperor? Is he to punish at dis-
 “ cretion, but never to reward without consent of the Senate? Our
 “ rewards, it seems, are to be carefully weighed and considered;
 “ but our fatigues and our punishments, are to be dealt without
 “ balance or measure.”

In this disposition the assembly broke up, and the soldiers went
 roving about in disorderly parties, insulting their officers, and affect-
 ing

ing to treat the authority of the Emperor himself with contempt. Their presumption, however, was suddenly checked at night by an eclipse which took place in the moon, and which, in their superstitious way of interpreting natural appearances, formed an emblem of their own situation, and by its event was to prognosticate the sequel of their present attempts. Their despondence, during the progress of the eclipse, kept pace with the diminution of the moon's light; and, as at the time of the greatest obscuration, the sky itself was overcast with clouds, and every light suppressed in the total darkness of a stormy night, they received this event as a supernatural presage of their own fate, and in despair retired to their tents. They were soon afterwards persuaded to restore the colours which they had removed from their place; and, in order to avert the evils with which they were threatened, to make seasonable offers of submission to the Prince.

It was therefore thought proper, that Drusus should instantly avail himself of this favourable change, and, as much as possible, facilitate the return of the troops to their duty. For this purpose, he called them again to the place of audience, treated their mutiny as a transient fit of humour which was past, and gave them to understand, that although he was not to be awed by their threats, he was moved by their dutiful and submissive behaviour; that he should dispatch an officer with their requests to the Emperor, and should join his own intreaties to procure them immediate attention, and to obtain every favour that might be consistent with the order of the service.

After the departure of this messenger, the expectations of the legions were fixed entirely upon the return he should bring, and on the effect of the young Cæsar's interposition in their favours. In the mean time, the officers having resumed their command, and being obeyed in all the ordinary duties and forms of the camp, proposed to exert their authority in stifling the remains of a mutinous spi-

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rit, which had so far subsided. They accordingly gave orders to seize, and to punish the principal authors of the late disorders.

Under this exertion of power, the troops became as tame and submissive, as they had lately been refractory and ferocious. To signalize their zeal, some of the most guilty became the informers and instruments of justice against their own accomplices; and the humour from which this revolt proceeded, having sunk as it rose, without any rational plan, the mutiny appeared to be so intirely suppressed, and the discipline of the legions so effectually restored, that Drusus, with his company and the escort which attended them, departed for Italy, without waiting for the return of the officer he had dispatched to the Emperor¹².

These disorders however were not peculiar to the troops in Pannonia, they broke out with more violence, and a more dangerous tendency among those of the German frontier. On this side, eight legions were placed at two separate stations; one division under Cæcina, on the borders of the low countries; the other under Caius Silius, on the Upper Rhine, both under the orders of Germanicus, who being adopted into the family of Cæsar, had been vested by Augustus with the command of these armies, and with the presidency of Gaul. This young man had married Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa and of Julia Augusta, by whom he had a numerous issue; a circumstance generally attended with great popular favour among the Romans. He was now attended in his province by his wife Agrippina, with Caius, afterwards better known by the name of Caligula, the youngest of his three sons, now carried in the arms of the mother. He himself being extremely acceptable to the army, and to the people of the provinces, it was not doubted, that if the empire were to be disposed of, he would have had the wishes

¹² Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 30.

of mankind in his favour; and he became upon this account a principal object of jealousy to his adoptive father.

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The troops that were stationed on the borders of the low countries under Cecina, comprehended the legions which had been hastily levied, and which, in order the sooner to replace the army that perished with Varus in the unfortunate expedition beyond the Rhine, had been formed without the usual selection. Being in a great measure composed of emancipated slaves, and other persons of mean condition, they had not yet imbibed the sentiments of national and military honour, which Augustus endeavoured to preserve in the legions. They considered themselves, at the death of that Emperor, as discharged from their military oath. They rose against their officers, killed most of the Centurions, and forced Cecina, with the Tribunes, to withdraw from their rage.

The authors of this revolt, probably, flattered themselves that Germanicus, although he did not at first openly countenance their mutiny, might however give way to their desires, and suffer himself to be elevated by their means to the throne of Cæsar. To preserve the appearances of order, until they should receive his commands, they appointed officers to act in place of those they had killed, performed most of the usual military duties, mounted the ordinary guards, and took the stated precautions, as in the presence of an enemy, for the safety and peace of their camp.

Germanicus, when the accounts of this alarming transaction were brought to him, was occupied in the affairs of the province, and in administering the oaths of allegiance on the accession of Tiberius. Sensible that his own high pretensions exposed him to be suspected of having encouraged these disorders, he repaired without delay to the camp, from which Cecina had been obliged to fly. Upon his approach, he was met by the legions; but instead of the respectful

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silence that was usual in receiving their commander in chief, was saluted with cries of discontent, and a mixture of expostulation and insult. He was followed by a multitude in the utmost confusion, to that part of the camp at which it was usual to harangue the army. That he might observe the different parts of his audience, or, in case any insult were offered, that he might distinguish the division from whence it came, he gave the signal for the whole to draw up in their legions and cohorts, and to display their colours.

So long as he spoke of the veneration due to the memory of Augustus, and of the glories acquired at the head of these very legions by the present Emperor himself, he was heard with respect and attention; but when he touched on their want of duty, his voice could no longer be heard, and the whole presence was thrown into tumult. Some uncovered their scars, called for the rewards that were due to their services; others complained of the scantiness of their pay, of their toilsome marches, of their hard labour in forming entrenchments, and in rearing magazines of wood and of forage. "We have followed our colours," said some of the veterans, "above thirty years: Is death the only termination to be hoped for our labours?" They called for the legacy, which they heard was bequeathed to them by Augustus: they invited the prince to declare himself sovereign of the empire, and offered to support his pretensions with their swords.

On this proposal, Germanicus, as if seized with horror, came down from the platform on which he stood, and was hastening to retire, when numbers interposed to stop him. "My duty to the Emperor," he said, "is more precious to me than my life;" and and at these words, drawing his sword, he turned the point of it towards his own breast. Some of those who were near, laid hold of his arm; others called out, *let him strike*; and one, in particular, reaching his sword, said, *take this; it is sharper than your own.*

It is not to be questioned, that Germanicus might have led this army into Italy, and with a general consent placed himself at the head of the empire; but he seems to have apprehended the rights of succession in the present Emperor, with all the respect and fidelity that accompany the sentiments of loyalty and duty, under monarchies already established. Being desirous to withdraw from the tumult, and a way being made for him by the officers of his train, he retired to deliberate on the present alarming state of affairs.

The leaders of this mutiny were about to open a correspondence with the legions on the Upper Rhine. The enemy were in sight on the opposite banks of the river, and ready to take advantage of these distractions. Some of the officers present gave it as their opinion, that an army should be formed from the provincial cohorts to overawe the legions; but this was rejected by others, as likely to end in a civil war. Severity, it was observed by some, might exasperate; concession, it was said by others, might breed insolence; and the service was equally exposed to suffer, whether the troops were indulged in all their demands, or in none. It was suggested at last, that by a little artifice, without committing the authority of the Emperor, the demands of the army might be satisfied. For this purpose, it was proposed that a letter should be feigned, as from Tiberius, so dated, that in writing it he could not be supposed to know of the disorder which now took place; that in this letter, he should be personated, as declaring, by a voluntary act of goodness, his intention to double the legacy bequeathed by Augustus; to fix the entire period of service at twenty years, and that of the ordinary duties at sixteen."

¹² A Roman soldier, after he was exempted from the ordinary duties of the camp, was retained at his colours to encounter the enemy.

A letter to this purpose being accordingly produced, the artifice was suspected, but the terms were agreed to, provided that the legacies were instantly paid; that those who had served twenty years should be discharged, and those who had served sixteen years, should be exempted as veterans from the ordinary duties of the camp. Many were accordingly discharged, and the more clamorous were paid up their share of the legacy, with such money as could be collected among the attendants of the prince. Others were persuaded to suffer a delay of payment, until they should come into quarters for the winter.

From this station, Germanicus repaired to that of the Upper Rhine, where with less trouble, and by means of the same gratuities, he prevailed on the legions of that division to withdraw into quarters. A mutiny of the troops on the Weser had broke out at the same time; but was suppressed by the courage and ability of the officer at their head.

It appears, that Tiberius, on hearing of these mutinies on the Rhine and the Weser, had recourse to the Senate, and wished to avail himself of their authority in restoring the discipline of the army. He probably meant, in the name of this body, to inflict the necessary severities, while he reserved to himself the more popular office of granting indulgences, or of making some gracious concessions.

A committee of the Senate, of whom one Munatius Plancus is mentioned as the head, was accordingly sent to the quarters of the army, and arrived at the *Ara Ubiorum*¹⁴, where Germanicus, with two legions, after quieting the late mutiny, was retired for the winter. As soon as it was known, that deputies were arrived from the Senate, to take cognizance of the state of the army, the soldiers apprehended that the late agreement was to be set aside; that the indul-

¹⁴ In the Bishopric of Cologne.

gencies granted to them were to be recalled, and that something ungracious was intended, which the Emperor chose to execute in some other name than his own; for so the arts, by which the empire had been governed near fifty years, now began to be understood. In this persuasion, the soldiers, in a riotous manner, assembled round the quarters of their general; and as a signal, that they were not any longer to respect his authority, they tore the imperial standard from thence; and to deter civil officers, for the future, from interposing in their affairs, meant to have murdered Munatius Plancus, and the other deputies of the Senate. These officers, however, took refuge at the colours of one of the legions, where, according to the practice of the Roman army, they had the protection of a sanctuary, and by this means escaped the fate that was intended for them.

Germanicus being still accompanied in his quarters by his wife Agrippina and her infant son, the youngest of his children, and apprehending that they could not be safe in this place of disorder, determined to remove them to some other station, where the troops, remaining in their duty, were likely to afford them protection. At their departure, the soldiers seeing the wife and the infant child of their favourite leader, followed by a numerous train of female attendants, fly from their camp, as from a place in which no respect was to be paid to sex, age, or rank, were struck with the effect of their own violence. Some crowded in the way of this melancholy train, and endeavoured to detain them; while others ran to the husband, and beseeched him to spare the legions so cruel a reproach, as was implied, in his supposing that the wife of Germanicus, the daughter of Agrippa, and the grand-daughter of Cæsar, with her infant child, were obliged to fly for safety from their quarters.

The prince, observing the disposition of the soldiers, seized the opportunity of regaining his authority; and making it a condition that they would return to their duty, complied with their request.

In the first moment of zeal to signalize their affection, multitudes, without knowing the cause of the change, passed with the impetuosity of popular tumults, by a rapid transition, from one extreme to the other, called out for justice on those who had been leaders in the late mutiny; and themselves became willing instruments in punishing such as were pointed out to them as authors of a guilt, in which the whole had been concerned. Germanicus, and the principal officers withdrew from the scene, leaving a Centurion on the platform to preside in this extraordinary course of justice. The prisoners that were brought to him, were hoisted up into view, and upon the verdict of the multitude, to spare or to punish them, were released, or thrown down from the platform, and suffered immediate death from the hands of their fellow soldiers.

The same disorders had broken out, and still subsisted at Vetera²⁵, the station of the fifth and twenty-first legions; but Germanicus being now in condition to enforce his authority, advanced at the head of a powerful army, sent his instructions to Cecina, who was present with the mutinous troops, requiring that they should, of their own accord, bring the guilty to justice; and intimating, that if this were not done before his arrival, he was determined, without distinction of persons, to put the whole to the sword.

On this intimation, a considerable number of the soldiers entered into a concert for executing the vengeance required of them, and at a time appointed, began the slaughter of those who were most forward in the mutiny. As the camp was soon thrown into confusion, it became impossible to make any distinction of persons, and the massacre extended to all those who crowded in the way, and who were not apprised of the design. Germanicus, at his arrival, found the tents stained with blood, the passages strewn with heaps of the

²⁵ Nearly opposite to Cleves.

lain, and all the appearances of a camp surprised, and of an army put to the sword. Those who remained, affected for the present to pay respect to the authority of their leaders; but had shewn themselves capable of the greatest extremes against their officers, as well as against their fellow soldiers.

These were the principal difficulties which Tiberius encountered in effecting his succession; he had other alarms in the commencement of his reign, but of inferior moment. Such were the troubles occasioned by the imposture of Clemens, who had been a slave in the service of the posthumous Agrippa, and the conspiracy of Scribonius Libo, who, being encouraged by his affinity to the highest names in the republic, had formed some visionary design on the empire.

Clemens, upon the death of the late Emperor, had gone to the place at which his master was detained in exile, meant to have conducted him to one of the armies in Gaul, where he made no doubt that the son of Agrippa, and the lineal descendant of Cæsar, would have found a favourable reception; but his design being prevented by the death of this unfortunate young man he formed a project still more wild and romantic, founded in some resemblance which he himself bore to his deceased master, he took his name, and proposed to personate him. Pretending to have escaped from the cruelty of the usurper Tiberius, he frequently changed his place, and affected concealment; but suffered himself to be seen by those who were likely to be imposed upon, and to afford him protection or support. He was accordingly favoured by many persons of consequence, who were either deceived, or willing to countenance any attempt that was made to disturb the present succession. Among his supposed abettors, however, he had unfortunately one person employed by the Emperor himself, to seduce and to circumvent him. By this emissary affecting to believe his story, and to aid him in asserting his pretensions to the throne, he was delivered over into the

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of his enemies, and was put to death by order of Tiberius, who, it is said, had the barbarous curiosity to visit him, and to examine his likeness to Agrippa before he was executed.

The Emperor was soon after rather amused, than alarmed by the informations he received of the practices of Scribonius Libo, his other competitor for the throne of Cæsar. This young man, being by his mother, the grandson of Pompey, and by his father, the nephew of Scribonia, who was the first wife of Augustus, was consequently the cousin of Julia, and of her children. His affinity to the sovereigns of the world, inspired him with thoughts and expectations above the condition of a subject, and laid him open to the arts of false and designing men, whom the fashion of the times encouraged with the prospect of impunity, and even of rewards.

Such men affecting zeal for the safety of the Emperor, enticed the unwary to engage themselves in some supposed treasonable practice, in order to have the merit of informing against them. In this odious character, a Senator of the name of Firmius Catus, practised upon the weakness of Libo, made him acquainted with professed magicians, astrologers, and interpreters of dreams, who flattered him with the hopes of empire; and after he was engaged in this idle or criminal correspondence, contrived, by means of one Flaccus Vesculanius, who frequented the court, to give secret information of the whole to the Emperor.

Tiberius, employing all his artifice against this feeble antagonist, refused to see the informer, but directed him to continue his intrigue, and to report the progress of it by the same channel. While he concurred in laying this snare for the unhappy young man, he raised him to the dignity of Prætor, treated him, at the feasts and entertainments of the palace, with uncommon marks of distinction, and took the malicious pleasure of observing how far these flatteries, joined

joined to the hopes of empire that were given him, contributed to swell his presumption.

In the mean time, and possibly before the design of the Emperor, and of his informers, was ripe for execution, Fulcinus Trio, another noted informer, having intimation of the matter from one of the astrologers, who had been consulted by Libo, proposing to snatch the prey from his original accuser, and to have a preferable claim to the reward, carried his discovery directly before the Senate; but the Emperor being present when this information was delivered, did justice to the first informer, confirmed the charge, and with an odious accuracy, enumerated the piteous follies of which Libo had been guilty. The Senators, pretending to be alarmed at such a treason, vied with each other in expressions of abhorrence, and many of them contended for the honour of conducting the prosecution which was to be formed against the criminal.

The slaves of the accused, agreeably to a late innovation in the law, were transferred in property to the Emperor, that they might be put to the question, or that they might be received in evidence against their master.

Libo had the first intimation of what had passed, by a party of armed men, who, with orders to seize his person, broke into his house. Terrified by this appearance, he pleaded for mercy; or if this could not be obtained, implored that one of his own servants might be allowed to put an end to his life; and being disappointed in both these requests, he took poison or wounded himself, and was in the agonies of death, when, according to Dion Cassius, he was, in order to secure the confiscation of his estate, carried before the Senate to receive his sentence. By the decree which was given, the name and family of Libo were consigned to infamy, and the astrologers, his accomplices, were expelled from Italy, or put to death.

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The Emperor, when this sentence passed, affected regret for the unhappy young man, complained of his precipitancy in preventing the effects of mercy, and professed an intention to have spared his life

From the time at which the mutinies on the Rhine and Danube were suppressed, and from the conclusion of this formal proceeding against Scribonius, as a traitor to the lawful sovereign of the empire, we may date the accession of Tiberius to the throne of Cæsar. He was now in the fifty-sixth year of his age; is described in his person as tall, robust, and healthy; erect in his walk; of a fair complexion, handsome countenance, large eye, but frowning; of few words, and slow of utterance; without any action or gesture while he spoke, besides a kind of involuntary motion with his fingers. His manner, notwithstanding his figure, was so ungracious, that Augustus, in recommending him to public favour, thought proper to make an apology for this defect in his appearance; observing that his ungracious looks were mere accidents in the outward form of his person, not expressions of vice in his temper¹⁶. In his youth, he was addicted to debauchery; but as he advanced to manhood, being in awe of the Emperor, he learned in many things to disguise his inclinations, and acquired a habit of reserve and hypocrisy.

Augustus on all occasions seemed to receive Tiberius with some degree of repugnance; so that when he came into company, the Emperor, if engaged in any pleasurable conversation, changed the subject, and altered his countenance. Though in some degree reconciled to him, or obliged from necessity to employ him in the conduct of his affairs, and though observed sometimes to speak of him even in terms of affection and confidence, yet he gave more frequently, with respect to him, signs of aversion and distrust; and

¹⁶ Sueton. in Tiber. c. 21. & Tacit. Annal. lib. i.

it is not unlikely that he fluctuated to the last in his opinion concerning him. Determined, however, by the influence and intrigues of Livia, or by the relation subsisting between them, he left him in possession of the empire, which he had long intended for persons more nearly related in blood, and more in his favour; but whatever were the motives of his choice, such was the belief of a deliberate and selfish design in all the actions of Augustus, that he was by many supposed to have chosen Tiberius, merely, that in the comparison of his own character with that of his successor, the preference might be given to himself.

Before the events which have been mentioned had put Tiberius in full possession of the government, and while he yet affected to decline it, the Consuls, the Senate, and all the principal citizens at Rome, had taken the oath of submission and allegiance. The whole army, and all the provinces soon after followed their example, and the world looked with anxious expectation for the full display of a character, hitherto for the most part wrapped up in reserve, and justly suspected of cruelty. Among the first discoveries that were made of his temper, it appeared that even his mother Livia had mistaken his disposition, or over-rated her own ascendant over him. In procuring the empire to her son, she had joined to the zeal of a mother, a high degree of ambition, and a desire to emerge from a species of obscurity, in which she had lived in the reign of her husband. She flattered herself, that upon the accession of Tiberius, she was to possess a great part of the Imperial power, or to exercise the whole in his name. Trusting to the deference, which he hitherto affected for all her opinions, or to the gratitude which he owed to her for the high obligations she had conferred upon him, she instantly assumed all the consequence she expected to reap from his greatness, laid aside the caution and reserve which she had ever preserved in the reign of Augustus, advanced into public view, and, as if she had taken pos-

session of the empire for herself, under pretence of bestowing it upon her son, took a principal part in all matters of state, and appeared on solemn occasions with her lictors, and all the other ensigns or formalities of a public station ¹⁷.

The Senate, trusting to the mother's supposed knowledge of her son's inclinations, yielded to her in all the prerogatives she was pleased to assume, inserted her name with that of the Emperor in all public acts, and, in the titles of Tiberius, stiled him the son of Augusta as well as of Cæsar. They were not however suffered long to remain in this error. They were told by the Emperor with an alarming coldness of manner, which left no doubt of his sincerity, *That the ambition of women should be kept within proper bounds, and that he should always endeavour to prescribe such bounds to his own* ¹⁸.

From the time in which this declaration was made by the Emperor, it appears that Livia entirely dropt her pretensions to any part in the government, and became no less reserved in the reign of her son, than she had been in that of her husband.

As Augustus, in assuming the sovereignty, and in the whole of his reign was kept in awe by the republican spirit, which he supposed still to lurk with a dangerous violence in the minds of the People; so Tiberius, to the affectation of treading in the steps of his predecessor, joined a great measure of distrust in the dispositions of the people towards himself, and in their predilection for others, who might be supposed more worthy to reign. Among these, he looked upon Germanicus as the first or principal object of his jealousy. He had adopted this young man, merely in compliance with the late Emperor's will, and considered him not only, as he was become by this act of adoption, a rival to his own son, but as he was, by the affection of the people, by the attachment of the army, and the high

¹⁷ Dio. Cass. lib. lvii. c. 12. Ibid. lib. lvi. fine.

¹⁸ Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 14.

pretensions of his wife Agrippina, a most dangerous rival to himself. He could not forgive a person to whom the legions had made offers of the empire; and who, for having declined the offer, was deemed the more worthy of it. Although he endeavoured, under professions of the highest regard, to dissemble his feelings, and in making his report to the Senate of the disorders which had lately taken place in the army, spoke of the conduct of his two sons, Germanicus and Drusus, with equal tenderness and applause; he had nevertheless suffered the retainers of his court to see through this disguise, encouraged them to charge Germanicus with want of capacity or courage on that occasion; and had taken his own resolution to remove him from a situation in which his popularity, the ambition of Agrippina, or the presumption of the troops under his command, might, in a moment, engage him in some dangerous design on the empire.

Upon these motives, therefore, it was proposed to remove Germanicus from the German station, and from the command of troops by whom he was beloved, to the command of an army, inferior in point of character, and to which he was less known, or less an object of favour.

While this resolution was taken at Rome, Germanicus, after the suppression of the late mutinies, that he might not suffer the soldiers to brood over their grievances, give them leisure to renew their complaints, or leave them to languish for want of employment, projected an expedition beyond the Rhine, and passed this river with twelve thousand men of the legions, twenty cohorts of the provinces, and eight alæ, or regiments of horse. By this sudden irruption, made before it was known that his troops were willing to obey him, he surprised a great body of barbarians assembled to take advantage of the disorder which they supposed to subsist in the Roman army, dispersed them with great slaughter, continued his march to the famous

ground on which Varus had been cut off with his legions; and finding the field still covered with the unburied bones of the slain, gave directions to have them collected and interred. In this pious office the prince himself mixed with the private men, and put his hand to the work; a circumstance which, when reported at Rome, considerably increased the jealousy of the emperor. From thence he proposed to invade the territory of Arminius, and to punish that barbarian for his treachery to those unfortunate legions. In execution of this design, being provided with a thousand vessels, he embarked on the Ems, fell down this river to a considerable distance; and having landed on its eastern banks, and over-run the country from thence to the Weser, in his encounter with the natives obtained two considerable victories.

After these operations, Germanicus again returned to his ships in the Ems, and continued his navigation to the sea. Supposing that the mouth of the Rhine was contiguous to that of the Ems, he proposed, by a short voyage on the coast, to pass from the one to the other; and without exposing himself to be harassed in a march by land, to recover his former station on the frontier of Gaul. On this stormy coast, however, having met with difficulties with which neither his vessels nor his mariners were fit to contend, his fleet was dispersed; many of his ships were cast away on the continent, others wrecked on the contiguous islands, and some drove quite into Britain. He himself got on shore on the coast which is now called East Friezland, and saw with despair the apparent wreck of many vessels of his fleet, which seemed to be lost irrecoverably on the banks which were left by the sea at low-water. From this disaster, however, he recovered the greater part of his forces. The vessels that were in company with his own, got afloat on the return of the flood, and the troops from on board of them were landed without any considerable loss. By this escape of his army, he was still in condition to
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make head against the natives of the country, who, intending to profit by the losses he had recently sustained, were assembled on the Weser; but being surprised by his sudden re-appearance, they fled before him, and separated to their different quarters.

Germanicus, upon his return from this expedition, and while he was meditating a renewal of such operations on the following year, had intimation of the emperor's intention to remove him from his station on the Rhine. This intimation was accompanied with a message full of the most flattering commendation of his services. He was invited to Rome under pretence of celebrating a triumph, which had been decreed to him for his late victories; and for the purpose of assuming the Consulate, to which he was destined on the approaching year as colleague to the emperor himself. As it was supposed, however, that, under an appearance of modesty, or unwilling to withdraw from a hazardous war in which the troops he commanded were still engaged, he might decline accepting of a mere honorary invitation, it was subjoined to these reasons of recall, that the remains of glory, if there were still any to be reaped in that quarter, ought to be reserved for his brother Drusus, there being no other enemy left from whom to collect *his laurels*.

An invitation to court, accompanied with the last of these considerations, though veiled under so many flattering pretences, was sufficiently understood to be a peremptory command, which Germanicus accordingly obeyed. On his arrival in Italy, only two cohorts or battalions were sent from Rome to receive him. But every circumstance tended to augment the jealousy of the emperor; the greater part of the Prætorian bands, mingled with multitudes of the People of every sex, condition, and age, advanced of their own accord some miles from the city, and received him with uncommon acclamations of joy¹⁹. Having made his entry, as had been proposed,

¹⁹ Sueton. in Vita Cæs.

in triumph, he was, with the emperor himself, put in nomination for the Consulate of the following year.

The popularity of which Germanicus now appeared to be possessed in the city, was no less mortifying to the emperor, than his power in the army was supposed to be dangerous. His presence, if it did not obscure the lustre of the emperor himself, seemed to place him in a continual state of competition with the other son of Tiberius; and the interests of these two princes, the one by adoption, the other by birth, the son of the emperor, though supposed to be on the best terms with each other, had divided the court.

Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, inheriting the blood of Augustus, and ever carrying in her haughty looks the pretensions of the Cæsarian family, was become to Livia, whom she considered as a stepmother, no less an object of animosity, than she was to the emperor himself. Under these circumstances, the resolution to separate Germanicus from the German armies, and to place him in the command of the eastern provinces, a situation apparently honourable, but in which he should be surrounded with persons who might serve as a restraint, or as spies on his conduct, was now carried into execution. He was vested with a commission to restore the tranquillity of Asia, that was disturbed by some disputes which had arisen on the succession to the kingdoms of Cappadocia and Armenia.

Germanicus, in the end of the third year of the present reign, set out upon this apparently honourable commission. Having a supreme authority in the several provinces through which he was to pass, from the sea of Ionia to the extremities of Egypt and of Syria, he visited, as chief in command, the cities of Greece, still revered as the principal seminaries of philosophy and literature; and upon his entry into Asia, proceeded to execute the commission on which he was sent. He reduced Cappadocia and Commagené to the form of Roman provinces, making some abatement of the taxes formerly paid
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to their own princes²⁰, and settled Zeno, son to the king of Pontus, on the throne of Armenia. He afterwards ventured to continue his progress into Egypt, though contrary to an edict of the late emperor, which was still in force. On his return from thence he was taken ill, and died at Antioch in the thirty-fourth year of his age, with some suspicions of having been poisoned by Cn. Piso, the Præfect of Syria, not without the connivance or the direction of Tiberius himself²¹.

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It is not to be doubted, that the emperor looked upon Germanicus with great distrust, and might have sought for opportunities to sacrifice him to his own safety, or to that of his son Drusus; but it does not appear that he proceeded any farther on this occasion, than to remove him from a situation in which he furnished the court with continual occasions of mortification or jealousy, into one that was equally splendid in appearance, but tending to lessen his consequence in the empire; and that he meant only to place him in the command of armies over whom he had no personal influence, and who, if disposed to revolt, were less to be feared than the legions which were formed on the Rhine and the Danube.

In sending Germanicus into Asia, great attention indeed was paid to place in his way as governor of Syria, the province which contained in itself the principal resources of the East, a person more likely to thwart and counteract him in every measure, than to become subservient to his ambition, or to promote his greatness. This intention was rendered extremely evident by the removal of Greticus Silanus, with whom Germanicus was about to contract an alliance by the intermarriage of two of their children, to make way for Piso, a man already unacceptable to Germanicus, and, in general, distinguished by a temper harsh and intractable, or likely to disagree with every superior.

²⁰ Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. c. 56.

²¹ Sæton. in Vita Cæii, c. 1.

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It is likewise extremely probable, that Piso, as well as his wife Plancina, might have learned by their own penetration, that Germanicus and Agrippina had incurred the displeasure of Tiberius and Livia; and that they would not meet with any cordial support at the court of the emperor, in case of a disagreement with the officers who stood in their way in the provinces.

Some effects of an insolence, founded upon this supposition, appeared in the behaviour of Piso and Plancina, while Germanicus was yet on his way to Asia. Piso, having overtaken the prince, and passing him on the route, without the customary marks of respect or attention, from thenceforward seemed to set him at defiance. At their first interview in Syria, both were extremely guarded, and showed no signs of cordiality or confidence. Piso afterwards endeavoured to pre-occupy the affections of the army in opposition to Germanicus; and had the boldness to march, in contempt of his orders, with a body of troops into Armenia. When the prince was taken ill, it was said, that Piso had spies to observe the progress of his disease, and seemed to await the event, as likely to place himself at the head of all the forces in Asia. Germanicus having recovered from his first fit of illness, had the conduct of Piso represented to him in such terms, that he ordered him into his presence, declared open enmity against him, and dismissed him the province. But, as he soon after relapsed, he accused Piso of having practised against his life, and charged all his friends, who were present at his death, to bring the author of it to a severe and just retribution.

Piso, hearing of the death of Germanicus, while he was yet on the coast of Asia, betrayed his animosity to the dead by public and indecent demonstrations of joy. He afterwards attempted, by force, to reinstate himself in the province of Syria, from which he had been ordered by Germanicus to depart; but was repulsed by Sentius, who had been chosen by the officers of the prince's train to keep possession

sion of the province till the pleasure of the emperor should be known. CHAP.
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Upon this event, Piso sent forward his own son to Rome, in order to prevent, as much as possible, the aspersions which were likely to be propagated against him in the city. He himself passed by Illyricum, to pay his court to Drusus, who was then in that province, and to implore his protection. Being received by this prince with coldness, though without prepossession, he from thence continued his voyage into Italy.

Agrippina, arriving soon after at Brundisium with the ashes of her deceased husband, was, by order of the emperor, received by a great military escort and the honours of war. She passed in a kind of funeral procession through multitudes that were collected from every part of the country to gaze upon her; and coming to Rome sufficiently impressed with the idea that her husband was poisoned, called for revenge upon the supposed authors of his death. Numbers contended for the honour of carrying her complaints before the tribunals of justice, and of being the accusers of her husband's murderers.

A prosecution soon after commenced against Piso; in which all that was known to be exceptionable in the preceding life and behaviour of the accused, was stated against him by Fulcinius Trio, the person already mentioned as having exercised the trade of informer in the case of Libo. The conduct of the accusation of poisoning, and the other crimes imputed to Piso in his late command, was committed to Vitellius and Veranus, persons peculiarly attached to Germanicus. The trial having begun before the emperor himself, was afterwards transferred to the Senate. Two days were allowed to the accusers to enforce their charge, and three to the accused to make his defence. The prosecutors brought sufficient evidence of Piso's arrogance and extortion; of much undutiful behaviour to Germanicus himself in Asia; of disobeying his orders; of having
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made war beyond the limits of his province, but no sufficient evidence of his having made any attempts by poison on the life of the prince. The charge indeed, as stated, or laid, was extremely incredible, that Piso should, at the table of Germanicus, and in the midst of servants, attendants, and friends, venture to mix poison in a dish from which numbers were to eat. To render this imputation still more improbable, it was observed, that the dead body had been exposed to public view in the market-place at Antioch, and that no external marks or indications of poison were found.

The principal evidence that was produced of any criminal practice against the prince's life consisted of a collection of human bones, some verses, pieces of lead marked with the name of Germanicus, and other supposed charms, which were found in his quarters, and which were considered as implements of sorcery, employed against the life of the person whose name was inscribed, and against whom they were supposed to take effect if the poison should fail.

The charge of murder, therefore, supported by such evidence, will appear to the modern reader entirely groundless, and must have been rejected even by the tribunal to which it was referred; but the accused seeing that the torrent ran high against him, and probably to prevent the consequences of a formal sentence in the confiscation of his family-estate, cut short the proceedings by a voluntary death; or, as was supposed by many, was secretly put to death by an order from the court, lest his public confession should appear to involve the emperor himself in the guilt.

On either supposition, the death of Piso being considered as an act of self-condemnation, or as a precaution in Tiberius to prevent a discovery, confirmed the People in their suspicion, that they were jointly concerned in the murder of the favourite prince.

C H A P. VI.

Review of the First Period in the Reign of Tiberius.—Applications of penal Law.—Disposition of Tiberius to a recluse Life.—Place and Character of Sejanus.—Death of Drusus, Son of the Emperor.—Retirement of Tiberius to the Island of Caprea.—Jealousy of the Emperor against Agrippina and her Children.—Death of Livia Augusta.—Design formed against Sejanus.—His Death.—Prosecution of his supposed Accomplices.—Artifices—old Age—and Death of Tiberius.

THE death of Germanicus is considered by some Historians as a remarkable epoch in the present reign^{*}. Before this event, Tiberius, as if conscious that he held the empire by his good behaviour, was popular in his manners, and guarded in his administration; declined the extravagant honours which were offered to him; was easy of access; affected to live like a private citizen; returned visits, and accepted invitations to entertainments and feasts; visited the sick, attended funerals, and delivered orations in praise of the dead^{*}. He treated the titular magistrates of Rome with the same ceremonious respect that used to be observed in times of the republic; rose, and stood, in the presence of the Consul; took his place in the Senate as a private member; was frequently seen in the courts of justice as an assessor, as an advocate, as an evidence, or as a spectator. To a person who saluted him with the title of *Master*, "Insult me not," he said, "with that odious appellation. I am the master of my slaves, general of the army, and no more than prince, or

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VI.^{*} Dio. Cass. lib. lvii. c. 13.^{*} Ibid.

"first in the rolls of the Senate and People." He took the title of Augustus only in his correspondence with foreign powers. In all his addresses, whether to particular members of the Senate, or to this body at large, he was in the highest degree respectful and courteous. When engaged in debate, he endeavoured to qualify contradiction or difference of opinion with respect and regret. To a Senator, named Haterius, on some such occasion, he said, "I hope you will forgive me, if, in my duty as a Senator, I differ from you somewhat too freely." At a meeting of the Senate, in referring some matter to their decision, he concluded with these words: "I have formerly said, and now say, that it becomes the person you have intrusted with so large a share of the public affairs, to consider himself as the servant of this assembly, as the servant of the People, and of every individual; nor do I repent me of this saying; for I have found you, and still find you candid, indulgent, and kind masters."¹ He affected a continual deference to their judgment on every subject, whether of policy, revenue, or foreign correspondence; even seemed to wait for their orders in what concerned the command of the army, and pretended to be displeased, when officers, employed in the provinces, made their report directly to himself, without communicating the subject of their dispatches first to the Senate.

With these popular arts, which the Senators indeed did not mistake for a real acknowledgment of their authority, he joined an administration in many things worthy of a wise and exemplary prince; indulged the People in the freedom of speech to which they had been accustomed, saying, "That, in a free country, the mind and the tongue should be free." To those who brought him information of any slander spoken of himself, he affected indifference. "If you mind such accusations as these," he would say, "there will be

¹ Sueton. in Tiber. c. 29.

"no end of them." He gave a ready hearing and redress to all the complaints that were made to him from the provinces, and carefully limited the exactions of his officers within the bounds of established and ordinary fees*. To persons suffering by fire, earthquakes, or other public calamities, to the families of decayed Senators, to the children of those who had bequeathed him their estates by will, he was munificent and liberal; took effectual measures to suppress the banditti, which, from the time of the civil wars, still infested the country; and endeavoured to diminish that constant source of corruption, the idleness which the People contracted in the too frequent repetition of shews and of public entertainments. He gave an abatement of some taxes which had been imposed by the late emperor, and, in particular, mitigated the penalties which had been erroneously inflicted on celibacy.

Tiberius seemed to have perceived that the severities employed by his predecessor, to enforce marriage, served only to multiply the evils of the times, without administering any effectual remedy to that which was complained of. But what, in this enumeration of examples of his political conduct, would have done him most honour, had he continued to support it in the subsequent part of his reign, was the equanimity with which he rejected many frivolous accusations which were brought against the unwary by his own flatterers, or by the mercenary informers who began to swarm in his time.

In respect to criminal prosecutions, the change of government, which took place at Rome, had, without altering the legal forms, made a fatal change in the effect of the laws, and served to show, that the seeds of despotism may be laid in the freest establishments; and that when the characters of men are changed, the worst abuse may proceed from the best institutions†.

* Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 6—7.

† Lex Majestatis.—Majestas est amplitudo et dignitas civitatis. Cicero de Orat. lib. ii. c. 39.

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The securities of majesty, or the restraints provided against treasonable practices, were principal objects in the laws of the republic. The crimes⁶ against which those restraints were provided, were, in reality, a trespass on the majesty of the commonwealth, including rebellion, breach of public trust, betraying the forces of the State to its enemies, or violating the person of the magistrate in the discharge of his office. These were justly reputed an invasion of the rights of the People, were public crimes, and might be prosecuted by any citizen, though not particularly interested in the issue of the trial.

In the time of the republic the prosecution of public crimes was considered as a duty; and the character of an informer, bringing to light what offended the commonwealth, though in some instances invidious, was not reckoned dishonourable⁷. In this character the most respectable and popular citizens sometimes braved the resentment of the most powerful offenders, or, when engaged in private enmities, sought their revenge, without incurring any dishonour as informers, by raising prosecutions on a public account⁸.

The mere permission, however, to become a public accuser, and the credit annexed to this character, were not, in all cases, sufficient to obtain prosecutions, or to prevail upon persons, not called upon by some material interest, to engage in so arduous and often so dangerous a task, as that of urging to justice offenders, who were powerfully supported by their fortunes, their rank, or the number of their adherents and friends. In the latter times of the republic, therefore, as the ardour of zeal for the commonwealth was supposed to wax cold, and motives of ambition and interest were required in aid of public virtue, it was enacted, That whoever convicted a person of any public crime, incurring degradation or forfeiture, should be intitled to succeed to the

⁶ Public crimes.

⁷ Private crimes or offences could not be prosecuted by any person besides the party

aggrieved, or some person having an interest in the case.

⁸ Plutarch. in Lucullo, initio.

dignity,

dignity, whether of Citizen, Knight, or Senator, from which the criminal was degraded. And lest even this consideration should not be sufficient to excite prosecutors, it was enacted, That a fourth part of the estate of the person convicted should be joined to the reward.

The office of an accuser, supported by a pure concern for the public safety, was commendable; but proceeding, in any degree, upon mercenary motives, even under the republic, when the cause to be supported was the majesty of the State itself, must have become, in a high degree, odious and contemptible; but under the present government, when the object of the law, as well as the motive for the application of it, were so much changed, the character of a prosecutor, though disguised under the antient forms and titles, was, in the highest degree, vile and detestable.

Under the establishment of Augustus, the idea of majesty was transferred from the State itself to the emperor; and the principal object of the law being to guard his person, not only his safety and the authority of his government, but his most private concerns, made a part in the majesty which was to be preserved. Whatever implied disrespect, whatever alarmed his jealousy, or interfered with his caprice, even intrigues of debauch with women of his family, were constructed as treason. Under a continuation of this government, the evil was inflamed by the pretended zeal of spies and informers, who, partly to pay their court, and partly to merit the rewards which were promised from the confiscation of estates, endeavoured to keep on foot a continual inquisition, in which they brought to trial the most trivial indiscretions, as well as more real offences, against the person, authority, or dignity of the prince. The swarms of such persons who haunted the steps of the unwary, and filled the Senate and the courts of justice with cruel or frivolous prosecutions; in which, by interesting the passions of the emperor, they endeavoured

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voured to make him a party, was one of the most grievous circumstances attending the late revolution of government.

Tiberius, notwithstanding this tendency of the establishment to which he succeeded, and his own temper, which was sufficiently prompt and sanguinary in preventing attempts on his person, or on his government, had the honour, during the first years of his reign, in some measure, to withstand this torrent, and to treat many frivolous accusations with a proper degree of contempt. A Senator of the name of Falenius, being accused of having included, with other furniture in the sale of his house, a statue of Augustus^{*}; another, of the name of Rubrius, being accused of having taken a false oath by the name of Augustus; and Granius Marcellus being accused of having taken the head from a statue of that prince, in order to substitute a head of Tiberius in place of it, a manner of paying his court rather ridiculous than criminal; in these and other instances of the same kind, Tiberius either took no part, or gave his instructions to the Senate in very liberal and manly terms. On the subject of the prosecution that was raised against Falenius, "My father," he said, "was deified, that his divinity might be a safeguard and a protection, not a snare to the People. His image may, no doubt, be included, with those of the other gods, as part in the furniture of a house that is sold." With respect to the supposed perjury of Rubrius, he observed, "That if any one swear, and is perjured, the crime is the same, whoever be the God whose name is profaned. Augustus is no more to be regarded, in this matter, than Jupiter; and either of these Gods, if offended, can avenge himself." The

* It is sufficiently known, that, in the heathen mythology, a place among the Gods was sometimes conferred on mortal men; that an apotheosis was little more than canonization in later times; and that this honour

having been conferred on Augustus, his name and his statue were ranked among those of the Gods.

¹⁰ Deorum injuriæ Diis curæ.

third offence, or the shifting of heads from one statue to another", CHAP.
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being considered as a mockery of that adulation which was so easily transferred from one to another in the succession of princes, and as some degree of ridicule on the prince himself, was not so easily forgiven; though, for the present, overlooked, it was reserved as a subject of future resentment.

To whatever motive we ascribe a conduct so popular, and in many particulars so worthy of empire, it is observed, that its effects on the minds of the People were not such as might have been expected, and did not procure to the emperor the favourable opinion or credit to which he aspired. His manner, even when he affected humanity and condescension, was ungracious and alarming; and, notwithstanding any appearances to the contrary, his real character was supposed to be malicious and cruel. It is said, that in the midst of the hypocrisy and dissimulation by which he had endeavoured to disguise himself before his accession, he made some slips which betrayed the reality of this disposition; and that he had been surprised into acts of insolence and severity, in which, by mixing derision and sarcasm with cruelty, he had given the strongest proofs of a merciless nature. For the present it was observed, that his overacting the part of popularity, the ridiculous tyranny he exercised over the Senate in requiring at once the affectation of freedom and the grossest servility; that the farce of affecting reluctance in accepting of a government which he had previously secured with the greatest care; the ridicule of dividing in the Senate, or giving his vote with the minority, when a resolution was to be taken in favour of himself, served to join mockery and insult to the weight of his usurpation; that even his affectation of popularity, for the most part, increased the terrors of his government; that his presence in the courts of justice took

¹¹ Tacit. lib. i. c. 73.

away all freedom of judgment; and that the discretionary power which he assumed, of mitigating or reversing sentences, and of dispensing with laws, under pretence of correcting their general tendency by seasonable exceptions, only served to frustrate the pretensions to civil government, which, in imitation of Augustus, he still affected to preserve.

But in whatever sense the favourable appearances, which presented themselves in the beginning of this reign, were to be interpreted, they were no more than temporary, and, in the manners of this prince, gave way to the growing asperity of age, or to the presumption which took place in his mind, upon the removal of a person whom he considered as a dangerous rival, and who, in case of any public discontent, might have been made the instrument of overturning his government.

Soon after the death of Germanicus, the temper of Tiberius, which had probably gained strength from restraint, broke forth in many cruel and alarming effects. His vigilance, hitherto limited to one object, and his jealousy, directed against a single person, now found a multiplicity of subjects on which, with less disguise or reserve, to exert their force.

Among the particulars in which the emperor, in the first period of his reign, imposed the greatest violence on his own disposition, we may reckon the openness and accessibility which, with a temper naturally dark and reserved, he affected to maintain with the People; and one of the principal circumstances, probably, in which he proposed to indulge himself, on his being relieved from his fears of Germanicus, was in retiring from the public view, and in eluding the observation of persons whom he considered as spies on his actions. In the eighth year of his reign, and in the second year after the death of Germanicus, having associated his son Drusus with himself in the Consulate, and leaving him in the administration of affairs in the city,

he withdrew for some time into Campania, meditating, as Tacitus observes, a more entire and continued retreat. During the two first years after his accession he had confined himself to the walls of Rome, and remained in the city, as in the watch-tower, from whence he was to observe and prevent all designs that might be formed on his government. After those years were passed, he made some excursions to Antium¹², and other towns or villages on the same coast, but never to any greater distance. In order, however, that the provincial officers might not think themselves altogether secure from his personal inspection, he frequently, even during this period, affected a purpose to visit the more distant parts of the empire; ordered his equipages, placed changes of horses and carriages, and permitted the usual sacrifices to be offered up for his safe return; but always, for some specious reason, delayed the execution [of his pretended design. After having, in this manner, for some time amused the world, and, by the repetition of these and other artifices, furnished a key to the secret of his own conduct; his mysteries, for the most part, became extremely plain, and his true intentions easily perceived, merely because he never spoke truth.

But while the Emperor thus endeavoured to debar the People from all access to his person, and to seclude himself from public view, he selected, as a proper instrument of his power, and, in appearance, as an object of his most implicit confidence, Ælius Sejanus, who has been already mentioned, as accompanying his son Drusus on his mission to the mutinous legions in Panonia. This person, supposed to have no dangerous pretensions, or though false to others, supposed true to his master, he had placed at the head of his guards or Prætorian bands, and distinguished him with a degree of affection and confidence hitherto without example in any former part of his

¹² About thirty miles from Rome.

life. This being the first of his intimate connections, whatever may have been its motive, it did not admit of competition or participation, and rendered a person, who was dark and impenetrable to every one else, open and communicative to this favourite alone.

Sejanus is described by Tacitus as of a hardy and indefatigable constitution of body; of a bold spirit and an insatiable ambition, which he disguised under an affectation of modesty. He is described as a person possessed of great art in concealing his own vices, and of an insidious penetration in prying into those of others; versatile in his manners, and either careless and profuse, or vigilant and severe, as suited the occasion; insolent to those over whom he had any advantage, but fawning where he was the inferior, or had an interest to gain. In his youth he had attached himself to Caius Cæsar, the adopted son of Augustus; and afterwards succeeding his own father, in the station which he now occupied at the head of the Prætorian bands, seemed to improve the access which this situation gave him to the person of the emperor, into an ascendant over his mind.

One of the first or most observable signs of the great elevation of Sejanus, was the proposed marriage of his daughter with the son of Claudius, the brother of Germanicus; a person, though at this time in a great measure neglected at court, yet nearly related to the emperor; and, in the sequel of events, himself destined to ascend the Imperial throne.

Sejanus being thus pointed out as favourite, by a mark of honour which tended to gratify his vanity, he took measures, at the same time, the most efficacious to establish his power. For this purpose he employed his credit in filling up with his own creatures, as fast as vacancies happened, the Prætorian bands, the legions, and every civil as well as military department in the State; knowing that where government rests its authority on principles of reason and justice, the Civilian, the Senator, and the Statesman are its principal instruments;

instruments; but where it is founded intirely on force, its ministers are soldiers of fortune, and its powers rest chiefly with those military bodies who are in possession of the capital, or who surround the person of the prince. This adventurer, therefore, being already at the head of this powerful department, studied every method to concentrate its force, and to secure in his own person the direction of it. To this motive is imputed the change which he now made in the manner of disposing of the Prætorian bands. These troops were hitherto quartered on the citizens, or distributed in the villages round the walls of the city, apprehending, it is alleged, that they might, in that way of life, imbibe the prejudices of the people, and become part of the families with whom they were mixed, he persuaded the emperor to detach them from that society; and, under the ordinary pretence of having the cohorts together, and more under the eye of their officers, erected a citadel and barracks for their reception; in this manner establishing in Rome itself, or contiguous to its walls, a fortress from which he could command the city, and employ the professional prejudices of those who occupied this garrison, most effectually against every person that was supposed disaffected to his person. In this disposition, whatever may have been the object of it, there is no doubt that the Prætorian bands became more detached from the People, and that the force and presumption of this formidable body became more tremendous to the other parts of the empire, and even to the emperor himself.

As Tiberius seemed to set no bounds to his confidence in the minister, and enabled him to employ all the powers of the empire in support of his own elevation, the jealousies or resentments of the favourite became equally fatal with those of his master, and being more numerous, involved the government of the emperor in perpetual animosities, prosecutions, and cruelties, which may have,

for

for the present, gratified his severe and jealous temper, but which were in no way conducive to his interest.

Under the influence of this connection, joined to his own disposition, Tiberius gave a ready ear to that numerous tribe of informers, who brought accusations against persons in any degree obnoxious or unacceptable to himself or to his favourite. In this predicament, the descendants of the antient nobility, persons eminent by their birth, popular favour, or personal qualities, and considered as rivals in the apprehension of either, were the principal sufferers. The perpetual inquisition to which they were exposed, and which makes a principal article in the history of this and some of the succeeding reigns, must, by the frequent repetition of similar examples, become an object of disgust, as well as of indignation or pity. And it may perhaps have been true of this emperor, that even his character, though in itself sufficiently odious, may, for some time at least, have incurred additional detestation, from his having committed his administration into the hands of a servant, who multiplied the errors of his government, or gave them the direction of passions more numerous or less liberal than even those of the master.

As Sejanus was most vigilant and jealous in exacting observances, it became more dangerous to neglect the attention he required, than even that which was due to the prince. A courtship was accordingly paid to him by the retainers of the palace, by the Senate, by the army, and by the People, more assiduous than even that which they paid to the emperor. In private, every species of flattery; in public, honorary decrees, were invented to gratify his vanity. The anniversary of his birth was joined to the festivals of the year. His name was inserted in the public prayers; and when any deputation was sent with addresses of respect to the emperor from the Senate,

from

from the Equestrian order, or from any other public description of men, compliments were at the same time sent to his favourite. The effigies of both were carried together among the ensigns of the legions, and their statues were grouped together in the streets. Women of every rank thought themselves honoured by the addresses of this fortunate man, and became the tools of his ambition, or the prostitutes of his pleasure. By debauching the wife, he sometimes obtained intelligence what were the designs or ordinary pursuits of the husband; and by encouraging the zeal of spies and informers, who were now become the favourite retainers of the court, he was enabled to pry into the actions of every citizen, and to watch all the symptoms of disaffection to the emperor or to himself. Intoxicated with the extraordinary circumstances of his fortune, it is probable that he thought himself placed within reach of the empire, and measured his consequence with that of the persons who apparently stood before him in their pretensions to this elevation. The present emperor himself had succeeded to the government, not by his birth, but merely by having survived every person on whom his predecessor could rely for support, or through whom, by any line of inheritance, he could transmit his power. Pointed out by mere accident to the choice of Augustus, he had been first adopted into the family of Cæsar, and afterwards associated in the empire.

Sejanus computed that he himself was already possessed of more favour with the reigning emperor, than Tiberius ever had enjoyed with the person to whom he succeeded; and that there was nothing in the farther progress of his fortune too arduous or difficult for him to undertake. The conduct of the young princes towards him had been provoking, and seemed to justify his resentment. They bore with impatience the intrusion of a rival into the emperor's favour. Drusus in particular was frequently heard to complain, that his father had chosen a favourite to supplant his own son, and had made a

stranger

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stranger little less than a colleague in the empire; that the steps which remained for Sejanus to make to this elevation were not so many, nor so difficult, as those he had already made. "And we must rely," he said, "on the *modesty* of this man for the bounds he may think proper to set to his farther pretensions."

This favourite had already formed an intrigue with Livia, or Livilla, the sister of Germanicus, married to Drusus. By his intelligence with the wife, he had notice of what passed in the conversations of the husband; and, in concert with this abandoned woman, determined to remove a person from whom he had so much to fear. They took into their confidence, for this purpose, Eudemus a physician, who, under pretence of his profession, had a frequent and a secret access to Livilla; and, after some hesitation, and frequent change of their councils, they found means, by the hands of one Ligdus, a eunuch, to administer poison to the prince, of which he died. The cause of his death, and the circumstances of this daring crime, were not known till about eight years afterwards.

In the mean time Sejanus, encouraged by the success of his first attempt, flattered himself that he might step into the place of the prince whom he had thus removed out of his way; and, in concert with Livilla, with whom he had already lived in habits of adultery, he waited for a decent interval to propose himself to the emperor as a husband for the widow of his son.

Tiberius, although he had, by his deceased son, a grandson of his own name; yet this young man being still under age, he thought proper, upon the breach which had recently been made in his family, to bring forward the two elder sons of Germanicus, Nero and Drusus, whom he presented to the Senate, as the great-grandchildren of Augustus, and the future supports of the commonwealth. "These," he said, addressing himself to the young men, "are your fathers. Such is the condition of your birth, that whatever concerns you,

"whether

"whether good or evil, must affect the empire." It is however singular, that this speech, made in behalf of the sons of Germanicus, appears to have awakened the jealousy of the person who made it. Observing that the audience were moved with these expressions, and supposing that the tenderness which was shewn to the sons, was a remainder of that popular esteem which, in the father, had given him so much uneasiness, he appeared to be suddenly embarrassed; and, as if he had been reproached with intruding himself into a station which the world wished to have reserved for the parent of these young men, he proceeded to counteract his own apprehensions with his usual affectation of humility and moderation. "I beseech you," he said to the Senate, "that I may be allowed, at a proper time, to resign the empire." And as he was always distrusted, and had the worst construction put on his words, these were supposed to be the expressions of mere embarrassment, and that he was in reality mortified with the demonstrations of joy which were given on this apparent restoration of the family of a favourite prince.

Sejanus, who bore with great impatience the admission of new rivals in the way of his ambition, improved these circumstances in the manner which he knew to be most effectual to awaken the emperor's jealousy, and to inflame the animosity already subsisting betwixt the empress Livia and Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, and the mother of these young men. The effect of his artifices and insinuations operating on the distrustful mind of the emperor, first appeared in the destruction of many persons who had been attached to Germanicus, and who still adhered to his family; and afterwards in the ruin of Agrippina herself, and in the death of the two elder of her sons.

The passions of jealousy and distrust, by which the mind of Tiberius was secretly devoured, but which he had endeavoured to conceal in the former part of his life, instead of abating in proportion

as he became secure, only became less disguised and more violent in their effects against those who happened to be the objects of them. He listened without reserve to every spy or informer, and, under the pretence of treason, directed prosecutions against every person in any degree exposed to suspicion.

Under such prosecutions the accused, having no hopes to escape from a charge in which the passions of the sovereign were engaged against them, endeavoured, for the most part, to prevent by a voluntary death the confiscation of their estates. And this direful necessity frequently repeated, being imputed to the merciless policy or suggestion of Sejanus, instead of drawing upon him public marks of indignation or hatred, greatly increased the court which was paid to him, and multiplied the professions of public regard.

The emperor, in the mean time, as he sought for security and peace of mind in a quarter in which they surely are not to be found, in the destruction of the most innocent objects of his suspicion, felt his odious passion of jealousy ripen into a general hatred of mankind, with a dislike, in particular, to those persons who had been the instruments of his distrust, and with an aversion to the very place at which he had multiplied its cruel effects. Conscious of what he endeavoured to conceal, and of what men were able to penetrate, he was jealous of every prying look, and detested every person whom he thought qualified to distinguish truth from appearances. At one time, he received the crowd of informers who haunted his court, as the most acceptable members of it; at other times, he abhorred them as persons who penetrated his character, and who, to their own advantage, and to the disgrace of his government, were practising upon his weakness. After having resided constantly in the city for many years, he began to multiply and to prolong his visits to some of his favourite retreats in the country, placed guards wherever he went, to keep the curious multitude at a distance, declined

clined the attendance of those who wished to pay their court, and was accessible only to his favourite minister.

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Sejanus, still appearing to rise in the confidence of his master on the ruin of every one else, ventured, according to the agreement long since made with Livilla, to propose himself to the emperor as second husband to the widow of his son. It was the practice of Tiberius to require, even from persons who had daily access to him, that every proposal they made should be put in writing; and it was his practice likewise to give answers in the same form. Sejanus accordingly presented a memorial to the following purpose: "That he had been so long accustomed to look up to Augustus for protection, and to Tiberius for every effect of munificence and goodness, that his wishes and his prayers were carried to them more directly than even to the gods themselves; that the splendor of high fortune had no charms for him; that his delights were in the cares and toils of a soldier stationed for the defence of the emperor's person; that he had nevertheless already attained to the highest honours in the alliance of his family with that of Cæsar; and from thence probably arose the farther hopes which he ventured to conceive. Augustus, when he deliberated on the marriage of his daughter, had condescended to think of a Roman knight. If a husband, therefore, should be thought of for Livilla, might he not presume to hope that the emperor would not overlook a person so profoundly attached to him, who coveted nothing, on this occasion, besides the honour of being chosen into this high connection, and who had no ambition beyond the duties of his trust as a guard to the sacred person of his master. For himself he was willing to perish whenever the emperor should cease to protect him; but his family had many enemies, and

³ The marriage of his son with the daughter of Claudius.

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" needed to be raised into some such place of advantage, where they
 " might be less exposed to the haughty and imperious insults of
 " Agrippina and her offspring."

In answer to this memorial, the emperor acknowledged the merits of his favourite; but did not give him any encouragement on the subject of his request. " Princes," he said, " were not, like private men, at liberty to follow their own inclinations, but must consult the opinion of the world; and observed, that, under this restraint, he must, for the present, suppress what he was most inclined to reply. That Livilla might determine for herself, whether, having been the wife of Drusus, she was to accept of a second husband; or if she had any doubts in the matter, she might consult her mother and her grandmother, fitter counsellors on that occasion than he could pretend to be; that the marriage which Sejanus proposed for himself would not allay the malice of Agrippina, but rather inflame it, and divide the family of Cæsar into parties; that it would be impossible for him, if he should form this alliance, to remain in his present condition: that Augustus, in deliberating on the choice of a husband for his own daughter, because he wished for a son-in-law whose pretensions were not likely to disturb the public peace, had turned his thoughts on some persons of equestrian rank; but that the example, nevertheless, was against Sejanus; for Augustus did not actually marry his daughter to a Roman knight, but first to Agrippa, and afterwards to himself." He concluded with insinuating that he had other views for his friend; owned that there was nothing too high for his merits; and his opinion in this matter, he said, he should in a proper time make known to the Senate and to the People."

²⁴ Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 39.

²⁵ Ibid. c. 40.

Sejanus

Sejanus was alarmed by this intricate and ambiguous answer, and dreaded a change of his master's disposition. He had hitherto excluded every competitor from the emperor's favour; but a temper so prone to suspicion, he knew could be easily turned against him, and would receive encouragement from numbers, as soon as they should see the first signs of distrust. For these reasons, he is said at this time to have formed the design of persuading Tiberius to remove from the city. When at a distance, he trusted that, by means of the guards, who were the bearers of all expresses and messages, he might be master of the emperor's correspondence, and prevent the access of every suspicious person. With this view he exaggerated the troubles to which the sovereign was exposed at Rome; molested with trifles, and crowded, wherever he went, with multitudes of idle or importunate people; magnifying, at the same time, the pleasures of retirement, where, free from the disgust and the avocation of inferior objects, he might bestow his attention on the conduct and result of affairs that were worthy of his notice.

Whatever effect we may suppose the representations of Sejanus to have had in persuading the emperor to retire from Rome, it is probable that, in forming this resolution, still more was owing to his own temper. Though deeply tinctured with pride, the inherent vice of his family¹⁶, Tiberius had not any share of that vanity which leads men to display their fortunes and persons in the view of the world. Content with the gratification of his appetites, and joining hypocrisy with the worst species of sensuality, he could submit to obscurity; and, although the resources of solitude were now diminished by the effects of age, yet a temper become more jealous of the world, and more averse to its notice, inclined him more to withdraw from the city, and to maintain from a distance that watch

¹⁶ *Infinita Claudie familie superbia.* TACIT.

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which he had hitherto kept over the actions, words, and even thoughts of its inhabitants. He accordingly, in the twelfth year of his reign, under pretence of dedicating in Campania a temple to Jupiter and another to Augustus, withdrew from Rome, and after this time, during the remainder of his life, under various pretences, but with continual intimations of his intention to return, absented himself from the city. Having performed the ceremonies for which he had gone to Campania, he passed from thence to Caprea, a small island under a head-land, which was called the Promontory of Minerva, making one side of the Bay of Naples. It is probable that, after mature deliberation, he had fixed on this spot as a place of security and an agreeable retreat. It was covered by the high lands of Minerva from the north-east winds, and was open to breezes from the sea on the south-west. It was accessible only to very small vessels, and this only at a single place. The seas were open to his scouts, and no sail could approach without his knowledge and permission. In this secession it appears, that he divided the guards, having one part in the island for the defence of his person, and the other at Rome, to enforce the mandates of his government.

Among the Romans who were admitted into this retreat are mentioned Sejanus, from whom the emperor was still inseparable, Curtius Atticus, a Roman knight, and Cocceius Nerva²⁷, a Senator of great dignity, who, possessing much knowledge in the laws and constitutions of the commonwealth, was still acceptable, or even necessary in the councils of a prince, who, except where his own passions were concerned, still wished to be reasonable and just. This person, however, from whatever cause, soon after ended his days on this island by a voluntary death.

²⁷ Tacit Annal. lib. iv. c. 58.

Tiberius,

Tiberius, in the latter part of his life, admitted likewise into his privacy at Capreæ, Caius, the third son of Germanicus, better known by the name of Caligula. The society, however, in which he delighted most, was made up chiefly of Greeks, professed men of letters, but more eminent as flatterers and ministers of pleasure. For such men he had no respect, but suffered them to amuse him with their speculations, or rather with a kind of literary buffoonery, in discussing ludicrous questions which he was pleased to propose; such as, Who was the mother of Hecuba, and what species of music was sung by the Syrens¹¹? These literary buffoons, however, no less than the objects of his political jealousy, experienced occasionally the effects of his capricious disgusts. One of them was banished to the island Cynaria for hinting a joke on the Doric accent, which the emperor had acquired at Rhodes in his pronunciation of Greek. Another, having found out that the emperor read books every morning, out of which he proposed his questions at night; and observing the book which the emperor had been reading, came so well prepared to answer every question, that his trick was suspected. He was banished from the emperor's company, and afterwards, by cruel usage, induced to lay violent hands on himself.

Were it established that ignominy could have no effect, nor the odious aspect of vice deter mankind from yielding to the vile considerations that lead to the practice of it, there would be no apology for molesting the world with many particulars, either of the past or subsequent part of this detestable reign. But it is likely that ingenious minds may arrive at what is just, by desiring to shun what is odious and vile, no less than by admiring and aiming at what is noble and worthy. Certain follies and vices sometimes gain strength from the fashion and the example of persons in high station. But it is

¹¹ Sueton. in Tiber. c. 70.

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established by the feelings of mankind through every age, that malice, jealousy, and cruelty, can receive no lustre even from the purple and the throne of Cæsar, and Tiberius himself, considered as the monument of an infamy to be shunned, may be a teacher of humanity and of wisdom not inferior to Trajan or Aurelius.

This tyrant, though now withdrawn from the resentment of those he injured, did not suffer his vigilant jealousy to sleep over the rumours and reports of his informers and spies, but rather, with a more open and unguarded severity, watched over crimes which had no existence but in his own imagination, or in his remembrance of the countenance and aspect of the persons he disliked. In his present retreat, he seemed to multiply the objects of his hatred, in proportion as he himself was secure; and in order to compensate the distance to which he was removed, employed a proportional speed and decision to surprise, and to prevent those who were suspected of any designs against him. From Capreæ, his mandates, for the most part, were carried to the Senate, and to the military officers at Rome, not as complaints against the supposed offender, or as instructions to the magistrate to make trial or inquiry into the guilt of the accused, but as warrants for their immediate execution.

Agrippina and her sons, with their adherents, and those of Germanicus, were principal objects of the present Emperor's animosity and cruel dislike. This family being high in the favour of the People, he fancied that the young men might not be disposed to defer the completion of their hopes, until a natural event had bestowed a succession, which a daring attempt might accelerate. Nero and Drusus, the two elder sons of this family, having, without any authority from the Emperor, been included by the Senate in the forms of public prayer, their names were again expunged by his order, and with an admonition to the Senate, not to inflame the ambition of youth with premature and exorbitant honours.

This

This forward attempt to place the sons of Germanicus on the steps of the throne, was supposed to proceed from the ambition of their mother Agrippina, who appearing to carry in her high looks and vehement temper the pretensions of the grand-daughter of Augustus, and the mother of future Emperors, ever seemed to reproach Tiberius with having usurped, and with continuing to possess, what was due to herself and to her children. Sejanus did not neglect to cultivate the animosity of either party. He had informations conveyed to Agrippina, of a design that was hatching at Capreæ against her life, and excited her by these means to give the Emperor provoking marks of her caution and distrust, which were easily interpreted as the symptoms of a guilty mind in herself, and hastened the preventions on his part, which he thought proper to employ against her.

As mutual provocations had passed between Agrippina and the Emperor before his departure from Rome, and as she was become a principal object of his dislike, it is extremely probable that he had then resolved upon the ruin of her family, at least upon her own; and that he took his station at Capreæ for the more safe execution of an unpopular act, which might occasion some tumult in the city, or even a defection of the army. He proceeded, however, by degrees in the execution of his purpose, and before his departure from Rome, had made a trial of his power against some of her relations and friends. Under this description, he had ordered the execution of Sofia Galla and Claudia Pulchra, two women of noble birth, who were related to her by blood, and much in her confidence.

Upon occasion of the last of these executions, Agrippina, who considered herself as aimed at in this cruel action, ventured, with a vehemence and impetuosity which made part of her character, to reproach the Emperor with his tyranny, accosting him to this purpose, as he was engaged in his devotions at the shrine of Augustus:

"It ill becomes a person," she said, "who affects to worship the

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parent, to practise the ruin of his offspring. The spirit of him you adore, is not transferred into the inanimate marble which you worship, but into his living posterity whom you oppress, and whom you cause to live in continual mourning, and in sorrow. Pulchra must perish now for the same reason that was formerly fatal to Sofia, for her being the unhappy relation and friend of those you are determined to ruin." Tiberius replied in a Greek quotation, implying *that she was hurt, because she was not allowed to reign*²¹; and in these words, contrary to his usual dissimulation, betrayed the rancour of his mind²².

After the retreat of Tiberius to Capræ, Sejanus, to gratify the passions of his master, and to make way for his own ambition, continued his practices against the family of Germanicus. He had spies placed about them, and received frequent informations, in writing, of what passed in their company. He had an account of all the actions and words of Nero, the eldest of the two sons from Julia Drusilla, the wife of this young man, who was engaged by her mother Livilla to betray her husband. He took measures to provoke both the brothers to angry and unguarded expressions, and had these effects of his own provocations carefully reported to the Emperor. He had emissaries, who insinuating themselves into the favour and confidence of these young men, urged them to rash and desperate resolutions; such as that of calling upon the armies in Germany to support their rights, of taking refuge at the shrine of Augustus, and of appealing to the People. When these emissaries could not actually engage the persons against whom they were employed in the crimes they suggested, they had instructions to accuse them to the Emperor of having deliberated on such dangerous projects.

²¹ Ideo lædi, quia non regnaret.²² Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 52.

While the sons of Agrippina were thus surrounded with snares, their most faithful retainers and friends were exposed to the same dangers, or actually fell under the hands of the executioner. Among these, Titius Sabinus had been distinguished by his affection to Germanicus, and remained still attached to his family. He had been, upon this account, an object of the Emperor's aversion, and likely to suffer under the first plausible pretence that could be found against him. Being selected, soon after the retreat of Tiberius, by the sagacity of those who wished to pay their court, as a proper object on whom to display their zeal, he was attacked at once by four persons of Senatorian rank, Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Politius Rufus, and M. Oppius, all of them already promoted to the dignity of Prætor, and now aspiring to that of Consul. They agreed to pay their court, by some notable service, to the prince and his favourite. The first undertook, by insinuating himself into the confidence of Sabinus, to betray him into some criminal action or expression. The other three were to be placed within hearing of what should pass, in order to be cited as witnesses.

A snare so artfully laid could scarcely be avoided. The injured, wherever they think themselves safe, are apt to complain; and Sabinus, finding that his faithful attachment to the family of his late friend was warmly applauded by Latiaris, unwarily joined with the traitor in lamenting the iniquity of the times, and the cruelty of Sejanus and Tiberius. Conversations to this purpose being repeated at some supposed confidential interviews; but in the hearing of the other three, who were posted as witnesses, it soon appeared, that there was sufficient matter against Sabinus; and the information was conveyed to the Emperor.

The informers, as a specimen both of their zeal and of their ability, gave a particular account of their conduct in bringing the treasonable thoughts of Sabinus to light. The information was applauded by the Emperor, transmitted to the Senate, and by them

considered as a warrant for the immediate death of the accused. Being found by the officers, commissioned to seize him, paying his devotion at some public altar, he was dragged from thence to immediate execution. The particulars of the detection were published, in order to shew with what zeal the Emperor was served, and in order to restrain the disaffected, by a mutual distrust of each other, from entering into any such dangerous councils.

The tragical death of Sabinus, a person generally loved and respected; his being dragged by the executioner through the streets at noon-day in sight of the People, spread a general consternation in the city. All orders of men, under their first impressions, deserted the public places; but presently recollecting that their flight might be imputed to a participation of guilt, or at least to some degree of sympathy with the person who suffered, they immediately returned to the places of public resort, and affected their usual ease and tranquillity. But from thenceforward, for some time, it was observed, that a melancholy silence took place, even in the most secret conversations of relations and intimate companions, who, from this example, had learned to distrust each other.

Tiberius, upon receiving the report of Sabinus's execution, thanked the Senate for the justice they had done on this enemy of the commonwealth, and mentioned a danger to which his person was still exposed from other enemies, more formidable than those they had already destroyed. In this ominous insinuation, he was supposed to point at Agrippina and her sons. Asinius Gallus ventured to call for an explanation, by moving the Senate to address the Emperor, that he would be graciously pleased to make known the object of his apprehensions, and that he would accept of their services in the defence of his person.

Gallus had married Vipsania, from whom Tiberius was separated, when his marriage with Julia was determined. By this alliance, he became

came the relation of Agrippina²⁰; and, what was still more dangerous, had presumed to succeed the Emperor himself in a connection, of which he still was envious and jealous. This circumstance rendered him, to the dark and vindictive mind of Tiberius, an object of deliberate malice. When his motion to address the Emperor for an explanation of his fears was reported at court, it was considered as a saucy attempt to penetrate the secrets of government, as a contempt of authority, and a dangerous attack upon the majesty of the prince.

Tiberius would have seized this opportunity to execute his revenge against Gallus, if he had not been diverted from it by Sejanus himself, who wished rather to keep his mind intent on the destruction of Agrippina and her two eldest sons, who were equally objects of jealousy to the minister as to the Emperor.

Such were the affairs which succeeded in the State, to the great political questions that formerly used to divide the Senate and the People; and as the event of these affairs turned upon the caprice of individuals, they were very much affected by any alterations which happened at court. It being now the fourth year after the retreat of the Emperor to Capreae, a considerable change took place in the death of Livia Augusta, who, by her first marriage, was the mother of Tiberius, and by her second, the widow of Augustus, by whom she had no children. She appears to have been a woman of consummate address. According to Tacitus, a fond and partial mother, an obsequious wife, and uniting, in her own character, the abilities of her husband, with the duplicity of her son. Being asked, by what arts she had kept her place so long in the confidence of Augustus? "By the most scrupulous virtue," she said; "by implicit obedience; by not meddling in affairs of state; by overlooking his intrigues with other women".

²⁰ Vipsania was the daughter of Agrippa by a former marriage, and consequently the half sister of Agrippina.

²¹ Dio. Cass. lib. lviii. c. 2.

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The authority of Livia had been a considerable restraint on the temper of her son; and being exerted to thwart him on some occasions, had contributed to the resolution he took of retiring from Rome. Both the mother and the son had their jealousies and their resentments; but as they seldom fixed on the same objects, such as were persecuted by the one, sometimes found a refuge with the other. They concurred in their aversion to Agrippina, but might have been divided in their inclinations towards her children. Livia, tainted with the rancour of a stepmother²², and incited by personal jealousies, ever saw in the person of Agrippina an air of superiority which seemed to reproach her as the wife of Nero, and but an intruder into the family of Cæsar. With respect to the widow of Germanicus, therefore, she was probably more implacable even than the Emperor; but with respect to his children, these being descended of herself, it may be supposed that she could not possibly adopt the passions of Sejanus to their prejudice, nor wish to remove them, in order to make way for the ambition of a stranger. The death of Livia was accordingly to those young men a fatal circumstance, and facilitated the execution of the designs, which the Emperor or his favourite had formed against them. Soon after the funeral rites were performed, the storm which had been long impending over them accordingly broke out. A letter from the Emperor was presented to the Senate, accusing Agrippina, and Nero the eldest of her sons, not of any plot or conspiracy against the State, or of any breach of the public peace, but charging the young man with lewdness, and the mother with haughty looks, and a stubborn heart.

This letter was received in the Senate with surprise. After some interval of consternation and silence, a motion was made to proceed in the matter to which it referred; but there being no specific charge

²² *Novercalibus odiis.* TACIT.

and

and no instructions to form a prosecution, it was observed, that the Emperor might have given way to his displeasure in angry expressions, without intending any further censure or judicial severities. Junius Rusticus, who had been appointed by Tiberius clerk or secretary of the Senate, ventured to advise a delay, in order that the Emperor might have time to reconsider the subject, and to make the Senate acquainted with his real intentions.

In the mean time, the purport of this letter was rumoured abroad, and the Senate was beset with multitudes of the People, who, carrying the effigies of Agrippina and her son, exclaimed that the letter in question must have been forged; that it was impossible the Emperor could intend the destruction of his own family; and, after the Senate broke up, there continued to be handed about in the streets invectives against Sejanus, alleged to be the speeches of members in that assembly.

When these particulars came to be known at Capreae, they were represented by Sejanus as an insult upon the Senate, and as a contempt of the Emperor's authority. Libels, he said, were daringly published; the people were assembled in disorderly tumults, and nothing was wanting to complete the rebellion, but arms, and the personal presence of those leaders who were already followed in effigy.

Tiberius accordingly renewed his complaint to the Senate, reprimanding them for not having proceeded on his former letter; but insinuated, that he did not aim at the life of Agrippina, nor at that of her son. In this, he seemed to require a sentence of exile or imprisonment; and the members, now as much decided as they had been lately perplexed and irresolute, were eager to distinguish their zeal. After four-and-forty elaborate speeches had been delivered, all tending to prove the necessity of immediate severities, it was resolved that Agrippina, with the eldest of her sons, should be banished; the first into the island of Pandateria, the place where her
mother,

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mother, the unhappy Julia, had been confined; and the other to Pontia, another island on the same coast²³. The younger brothers were overlooked on the present occasion. Drusus, the second, being persuaded by Sejanus that the removal of his elder brother tended to his own advantage, by opening his way to the empire, took no part in the distresses of his family. He himself, however, was soon after put in confinement, and for some years kept a prisoner at Rome, in a secret recess of the Emperor's palace.

Tiberius, in some instances, endeavoured to compensate the injustice which he practised against one set of persons, by acts of munificence to others, whom he selected as objects of his bounty, or who were of too little consequence to incur his jealousy. He seized an opportunity of this kind, about the time that Agrippina and her son experienced his vengeance, by relieving numbers who had suffered by a fire which had recently consumed some part of the city, and others, who had suffered by the fall of a theatre erected at Fidenæ; a disaster, by which, according to Tacitus, about fifty thousand persons were killed or hurt. Continuing, however, with respect to those who incurred his aversion or his distrust, to exercise a cruelty which seemed to increase with age, or with the consciousness of his own demerit towards mankind, he proceeded against Asinius Gallus with singular marks of deliberate malice; took measures to prolong the sufferings of this favourite victim; wished to witness their effects, and to enforce the impression of them with peculiar circumstances of insult and mockery. For this purpose, he procured a deputation from the Senate to be sent to Capreæ, and took care that Asinius Gallus should be one of the deputies. Upon their arrival, he received Gallus in a manner peculiarly gracious, admitted him as a party in all his entertainments, and as an ordinary guest at his table;

²³ Sueton. in Tiber. c. 33, 34.

but having in the mean time sent a complaint of treason against him to Rome, and directed that a warrant from the Senate should be sent to seize his person, he continued his former behaviour, and detained him at Capreae, under various pretences of kindness, until the warrant of the Senate to seize him should arrive. He took care to be present when this warrant was executed, affected surprise, even pretended to be distressed, and, when the prisoner was removed, gave strict injunctions that no violence should be offered to him, nor any sentence passed against him, until he himself should return to Rome.

In this ambiguous injunction, Gallus was condemned to a lingering state of suspense, and of suffering without the knowledge of his crime, or of the person by whom he was accused; a species of refinement on cruelty which Tiberius had lately adopted, and which he sometimes expressed. Having a petition presented to him, that one of his prisoners might be allowed to die: "I am not," he said, "sufficiently reconciled to him for that."

While Sejanus was considered as the author of most of these cruel acts, and was accordingly the general object of flattery as well as of terror, he was in reality the dupe of his master's cunning, and at this very time was already doomed to destruction.

Tiberius, either moved by a mere change of caprice incident to unhappy men, or warned of some danger to his own person, from the height and from the views to which he had raised this favourite, had for some time secretly resolved on his ruin; but while he revolved this purpose in his own mind, and weighed the dangers to which he might be exposed in the execution of it, he redoubled the usual marks of his favour, and in all his dispatches, in which he mentioned Sejanus to the Senate, designed him, *My Sejanus, and the partner of my cares and my labours.*

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The public, as well as Sejanus himself, were imposed upon by these appearances. No honour was moved for the Emperor, in which Sejanus was not included. Their statues still continued to be erected together, and were multiplied in every street; and when the Emperor signified his pleasure that Sejanus should be named to the Consulate, together with himself, the Senate replied, by an act, vesting the prince and his favourite with this dignity for five years.

Hitherto, it is probable that Tiberius, well aware of the vigilance and penetration of his favourite, and of the numerous spies he had employed, had not confided his secret to any person whatever, and wished to remove him from his person, before he ventured to proceed any farther in his design. For this purpose, he had chosen him for his own colleague in the Consulate of the ensuing year; and, under pretence of delegating to him the whole functions of an office, which the Emperor himself could not attend, he sent him to Rome.

For some time after the arrival of Sejanus in the city, the usual executions for treason were continued, and persons who had incurred the suspicion either of the prince or his minister, perished with their wives and their children. Many of them, as usual, to prevent the effects of a formal sentence, laid violent hands on themselves, and some exhibited this horrid spectacle even at the bar of the Senate²⁴.

While Sejanus thus seemed to wield the Imperial power, and to hold the lives of the people at his mercy, he was attended by multitudes, who pressed to his gate in such numbers, that the court of his palace could scarcely receive them. He slighted the attentions that were paid to him; but with unwearied jealousy remarked every appearance of neglect, and doomed to destruction persons who gave

²⁴ Dio. Cass. lib. lviii. c. 4.

any signs of impatience, under the state of servility and debasement to which they were reduced.

In the mean time, Tiberius proceeded with great circumspection. He had accepted of the Consulate merely to flatter his minister, and to increase his security, in being placed as the colleague of the Emperor in that station. Being to destroy him, it was necessary that some one should be present, on whom the dignity of Consul might devolve. For this reason, he divested himself of the office, and substituted in his own place C. Memmius Regulus, who, on the first of May, was admitted as the colleague of Sejanus. From thenceforward, the conduct of the Emperor threw the favourite himself, and the public in general, into great perplexity. In some of his letters to the Senate, he spoke of his health as declining, and of himself as a dying person. In his next, he announced his recovery, and a design of speedily visiting the metropolis. He commended Sejanus in one letter, he censured him in another; sometimes favoured none but his partizans and adherents, at other times affected to prefer his rivals. It is possible, that in these inconsistencies, he himself actually wavered between hatred and fear; and apprehending the great influence of Sejanus over the Prætorian guards, hesitated in the execution of his purpose. It is likewise extremely agreeable to his character, to suppose that he meant, by holding forth some signs of displeasure, to urge the object of it to some act of indiscretion or insolence, which could be made the foundation of a plausible charge against him; and that he had spies on his conduct to lay hold of any pretence he should furnish for an impeachment; but that, fearing to drive him to some dangerous act of despair, he retracted in one message the provocation he had given in a former.

While Sejanus appeared, from some circumstances in the conduct of the Emperor towards him, to be out of favour, he was suddenly raised to the dignity of Pontiff, together with Caius Cæsar Caligula;

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and thinking this a favourable opportunity to recover his place about the person of his master, he desired leave to offer his thanks at Capreæ; but was told that he might spare himself the trouble, for that the Emperor was soon to be at Rome.

To try the effect of a fresh mortification on the temper of this devoted favourite, Caius Cæsar Caligula was declared successor in the empire. The popularity of the family of Germanicus, made this declaration be received with universal joy; and being joined to other indications, that Sejanus no longer had the exclusive possession of the Emperor's favour, greatly diminished the court that was paid to him.

From this time, it is probable that Tiberius took into his confidence Macro, an officer already of high rank in the Prætorian bands, and whom he destined to succeed Sejanus in the command of that body. With Macro, he concerted the manner of removing this dangerous man, and formed a plan, which was to be entrusted to his execution. Sejanus was to be flattered with new hopes; he was to be surprised in the Senate, while the guards were to be amused with, what was a new circumstance in this reign, the distribution of a donative from the Emperor.

In proceeding to execute this design, in a manner which the Emperor chose from his love of duplicity, or which, from his fear of the troops that were under the command of Sejanus, he thought himself obliged to contrive with so much circumspection, he intimated to the Senate, and to Sejanus himself, that he speedily meant to vest him with the character of Tribune, a dignity which rendered the person sacred, and which the Cæsars had in some measure appropriated to themselves. While this intimation was supposed to lull Sejanus in perfect security, Macro was dispatched to Rome, and took care to arrive at an hour, when the Senate had been, by order of the Emperor, appointed to assemble. He met with Sejanus, just as he had posted

his guard, and was entering at the door of the Senate-house; and being asked, what commands he had from the Emperor, and what letters for himself? answered, That he had brought his appointment to the Tribunitian power, and was to lay it before the Senate.

Sejanus took his place, with the usual attendance of persons who had accompanied him from his own house, and had the members of the Senate still crowding around him as usual, when Macro presented the mandate of the Emperor, and retired.

This paper was artfully drawn up, to gain time in the reading, and to keep all parties in suspense, while Macro should take his measures to secure the guards. In the preamble, the name of Sejanus was not at all mentioned; in the subsequent parts of the paper, he was sometimes extolled, and sometimes censured. Other affairs were intermixed with this, and the suspense which so long and so strange a performance occasioned in the minds of those who were present, amounted to some degree of stupefaction. But it concluded at last with a peremptory charge of treason against Sejanus; and the crowd of attendants instantly withdrew from the Consul's chair on which he was seated. His colleague in office, Regulus, called upon him by name to stand up; but so much was he distracted, and so little accustomed to this tone of voice, that upon a second call, he started from his seat, and asked, if the words were addressed to him? Surprise had disqualified him to take any vigorous resolution; and when he began to recollect himself, the precautions which had been taken by his enemies, rendered all his endeavours too late.

Macro, as soon as he had delivered the Emperor's letter to be read in the Senate, went to the guard which was posted at the doors, informed them that he brought a donative from the Emperor, which they were then to share with their fellow soldiers in the barracks; that for this purpose, they were immediately to be relieved by a party

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of the city watch. This being done, he led them to the citadel, or what was called the Camp of the Prætorian bands²³, distributed the Emperor's bounty, and at the same time taxed their commander with ingratitude to so kind a master; intimated his removal, produced his own commission to succeed in that important station, and, by his authority, as well as by these precautions, prevented any disturbance among that formidable body of men.

Sejanus being deserted in the Senate by those who had attended him into the house, and who a few moments before pressed to be first in his observation, was taken into custody of the party which had relieved his own guard, and was treated as a person accused of the highest crimes. On the first motion for a commitment, he was ordered to prison, and persons of every description began to give unfeigned or affected demonstrations of joy. From many who were present, the fear that was lately expressed in adulation and courtship, now burst forth in reproaches and insults. In others, who were more nearly connected with the prisoner, or more likely to be involved in his fate, the terror with which they were seized, was disguised under the affectation of joy. The populace, as he passed through the streets, took their part as usual in the storm which burst on this unfortunate man, and, that he might not have the consolation of passing unseen, tore away the lappet of his gown, with which he endeavoured to cover his face.

On the same day, the Senate met again in a temple contiguous to the prison in which Sejanus was confined, and, without any specific charge or evidence of guilt, gave sentence of death against him, which was accordingly executed. The dead body, as usual in the case of treason, being made fast on a hook, was dragged through the streets, and cast into the river, where it was thrown up, or conti-

²³ Castrum Prætorium.

nued afloat during some days, under the continual insults of a multitude of people.

It is not easy to determine how far this minister was accountable for a tyranny, which occasioned so vehement and so general a resentment. His crimes were undoubtedly great, and the envy of his fortune was not to be asswaged by common sufferings. But as human nature is liable to error in the manner of punishing crimes, as well as in the commission of them, the rage which now animated the populace against Sejanus, mixed with a servile intention to pay their court to the Emperor, led to an action as criminal and more odious than any of which he himself had been accused or suspected. The children of this unhappy man, a boy and a girl, though too young to partake in his guilt, or to furnish any subject of distrust or of jealousy to his enemies, were included in the same fate with the father: the girl with so much innocence, that she often asked the persons by whom she was seized, what she had done? assured them, with an infantine simplicity, that she never would do it again; begged that they would not carry her to prison; said that she never was obstinate, and that a few strokes of the rod were enough to correct her.

It is subjoined to this piteous detail, that, in compliance with a vile superstition, which the consideration of innocence could not restrain, she was ordered to be ravished previous to her execution, because it was ominous of misfortune to inflict the punishment of death on a virgin²⁶. The bodies of these innocents, in the same manner with that of their father, were dragged through the streets, and cast into the river.

It is difficult to account, from any principles of human nature, for acts of such amazing depravity. Tyrants seldom exceed the bounds

²⁶ Dio. Cass. lib. lviii. c. 11. Tacit. Annal. lib. v. c. 5.

of resentment, jealousy, or fear; but the vile tools that are procured by servility to execute their purpose, in order to ingratiate themselves, often outrun, in their affectation of zeal, what tyranny or cowardice itself could not suggest or perpetrate.

Apicata, the widow of Sejanus, and the mother of these unhappy children, having first disclosed the conspiracy, by which Drusus, the son of Tiberius, had been poisoned, laid violent hands on herself, and, by the discovery she made, soon after brought on the ruin of the widow Livilla, with that of the other accomplices in that daring crime.

It was reported, that the anxiety of Tiberius, whether real or affected, was such, during the dependance of his design on Sejanus, that he instructed Macro, in case of any resistance from the guards, to bring forth Drusus, the son of Germanicus, then a prisoner in the palace, to assemble the citizens against them; that he had prepared shipping at Capreae to waft himself, in case of necessity, to some of the military stations on the frontier; that he had formed a chain of posts from Rome to the nearest promontory of Campania, with orders to light fires, and to make other concerted signals, in case it should be necessary for him to consult his safety by flight. In his letter to the Senate, in order to make a suitable impression of the danger to which he wished the public to believe he was exposed from the designs of Sejanus, he concluded, with expressing his wishes to be again at Rome; but desired that the Consul, who remained at the head of the commonwealth, might come forth with the powers of the republic to conduct him in safety²⁷. His design however having succeeded to his wishes, Drusus was still retained a prisoner in the palace, and the Consul being arrived in Campania with his Lictors, to give the Emperor a safe conduct to Rome, was every where considered as an object of ridicule.

²⁷ Dio. Cass. lib. lvi. c. 13.

After the execution of Sejanus, the city continued in a ferment during many days. The People having been disposed, for some time, to impute to the minister the system of tyranny which had been lately pursued, rejoiced in his fall, applauded the severities which were executed on the partners of his guilt, and willingly pointed out, as accomplices in his crimes, his relations and friends, and all who had ever moved for any of the extravagant honours that were lately bestowed upon himself; but, as in imputing the guilt of many cruel measures to Sejanus, they were too favourable to the Emperor, so they probably over-rated the influence of the minister, who was in fact more the dupe, than the director, of his master's designs.

As it soon after appeared, that the cruel jealousies of this reign did not terminate with the death of the favourite, the People, as usual, ran to the opposite extreme, considered him as a mere instrument of his master's tyranny, as a person employed while his services were convenient, but in the end betrayed with a degree of perfidy, which rendered the cruelty of the tyrant, in that case, more odious than even when it was practised against the most innocent subjects²². So prone are mankind, in particular instances, to suspect the falsehood, or to exaggerate the wickedness of those, who, by general duplicity and malice, have incurred their detestation.

The death of Sejanus was so far from introducing any mitigation of the former tyranny, that it rather furnished a new set of pretences, under which to exert its force. Intimacy with the fallen minister, or a supposed participation of his guilt, involved greater numbers, than had been formerly questioned on account of any other species of treason. Persons of every sex and of every condition, were cast indiscriminately into the same prisons; and the time of the Senate was divided between the ordering of executions, and the ap-

²² Sueton. in Tiber. c. 55.

pointment of honours, which were decreed to the prince for his vigilance in this matter. The title of Father of his country was again offered to him; additional rejoicings were devised for the anniversary of his birth; a general thanksgiving was appointed to the Gods; and a new statue was to be erected to Liberty. All persons were forbidden to wear mourning for Sejanus; the anniversary of his death was to be kept as a festival, or celebrated with public entertainments and sports; and it was resolved in the Senate, that the extravagant honours so profusely lavished on that minister, should not be repeated in the case of any subject whatever.

These decrees, Tiberius, so far as they were intended to confer honours on himself, rejected with disdain, and even refused to see the deputies who were separately sent from the Senate, from the Equestrian order, and from the People, to congratulate him on this occasion. He despised the givers too much to be flattered with the gift, and was aware of their duplicity in pretending to offer him praise. Under this impression, at one of the last times he had attended the Senate in person, he was observed to leave the assembly with scorn. *What a collection*, he said, *of willing slaves*! There is, it seems, a degree of good nature as well as of weakness, in wishing to be flattered. This prince was equally exempted from both.

The Senate, however, the more they were spurned, became the more sensible of their own degradation, and only endeavoured to vary the mode of their flattery. As Tiberius ever talked of his approaching return to Rome, and of his intended appearance in the Senate, they passed a decree, that twenty of their own number, to be named by the Emperor himself, should be armed with swords, and should have charge of his safety as often as he took his seat in their meetings. When this resolution was intimated to him, he

²² Dio. Cass. lib. lviii. c. 13.

returned thanks for their zeal, and with some derision desired to know, Whether this Senatorial guard should be young men or old men? Whether they should continue for life, or be taken in rotation? And whether they should arm only at the door of the Senate-house, or pass in arms through the streets²⁹? And concluded with saying, That, if his life was worth preserving, he should think himself sufficiently safe, when attended by Macro and some Tribunes of his guards, whom he would take the liberty to bring into the Senate.

This reference to the guards had the effect of an admonition, and drew from the Senate an attempt to pay heir court likewise to this formidable body of men. Bounties in money and honorary distinctions were decreed to them; such as, that the Prætorian soldier, at the expiration of the time for which he enlisted, should be allowed a place at the theatre on the bench of the Equestrian order. In this, however, the compliment was not more successful than it had been in other instances. It was even resented by the emperor as an attempt to share the affection of the troops with himself. Junius Gallio, who had made the motion, was ordered into exile, and afterwards committed to prison in the city. And the Senate, as a last effort to please this froward prince, seeing that the project to arm a part of their own number in his defence was not acceptable, resolved, That every member, in entering the house, should be searched for concealed weapons, as a precaution for the safety of a person who probably never meant to intrust himself in their hands³⁰.

In the midst of these servilities, the emperor met with some instances of a daring petulance, and with some even of a noble freedom, which he had the discretion to overlook, or to treat with affected respect. The defects of his person, he being bald, foul-faced, and bent

²⁹ Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. c. ii.

³⁰ Dio. Cass. lib. lviii. c. 18.

with age, were exhibited by actors on the stage; and the monster, so represented, it was said, practised in secret the most detestable vices; alluding to the manner in which the emperor passed his time at Capreae. But with respect to such buffooneries, he had the discernment to know, that a serious attempt to punish the authors, would only tend to confirm the application, and to increase its effects.

Among the numbers that were questioned as partners in the guilt of the late minister, and of whom many perished by their own hands, or by that of the executioner, Marcus Terentius, a Roman Knight, had the courage to acknowledge his guilt, and pleaded his cause in a manner that suspended the proceedings of the Senate against him. "It were safer, perhaps, for me," he said, "to deny, than to confess, my connection with Sejanus. But whatever may be the event, I must own that I attached myself to that minister; that I desired to be reckoned among his friends, and was proud of this title. In him I saw the first officer of the army, the first minister of the State, and the colleague of Caesar; a powerful patron, and an irresistible enemy; one whose favour was preferment and honour, whose displeasure was ruin and disgrace. It was not for me to penetrate the councils of my prince, nor to decide on the reasons of his conduct. It was my duty to honour whom he honoured; and in this, as well as in every thing else, to acquit myself as a faithful subject, by a perfect compliance with my sovereign's will. Please to recollect the period of this minister's favour, as well as of his disgrace. My conduct in both, and my defence, is the same with those of many others. We adhered to him, while the sovereign commanded us to do so; we left him the moment he was supposed to be the enemy of our prince." Upon this defence, the absurdity of punishing in others an error of which the emperor himself had set the example, suspended, for a moment, the rage of prosecution; and the prisoner, with consent of Tiberius, was acquitted.

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An officer, named Lentulus Gentulicus, then at the head of the legions on the Upper Rhine, being some time afterwards accused as an accomplice with Sejanus, had the boldness to write, that his connection with that minister was pointed out to him by the emperor himself; that the mistake was common to both, and that what was deemed innocent in one person, ought not to be imputed as a crime to another. "I have hitherto," he said, "been faithful in the discharge of my trust, and mean to continue so; but the first attempt to supersede me, I shall consider as a warning to defend myself. Matters, however, may remain in quiet; I am willing to acknowledge the emperor so long as I remain unmolested." Tiberius, now far advanced in years, governing by his reputation, and by the influence of forms established in the reign of his predecessor and his own, did not choose to risk his authority against a person, who, being at the head of an army, had the courage to hold such language; and affected, from this time forward, to treat Gentulicus with particular marks of favour and respect.

Others were imprisoned, and carried to execution in troops and companies; and the emperor at last, as if tired with the pursuit of offenders in detail, or in separate divisions, ordered the jails to be cleared by a general execution of all persons confined as accomplices in the treason of Sejanus. In consequence of this order, numbers of dead bodies of every sex, age, and condition, were cast forth into the streets, and lying scattered about, or collected in heaps, until they began to corrupt, were thrown into the river.

Mystery and concealment being the favourite arts of Tiberius, as often as he believed himself to be observed, he became jealous of every prying look, and detested such persons as seemed to be qualified to distinguish truth from appearances. At one time he received in-

²¹ Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. c. 30.

²² Ibid. lib. vi. c. 19.

formers as the most acceptable members of his court; at other times, he appeared to detest them as persons who had detected his vices, and were hastening to make them known to the world. During the prosecution of his design against Sejanus, he encouraged his spies with additional rewards, and even with public honours. But after he had assuaged his passion in the blood of so many victims, he turned his distrust and aversion against the instruments of his cruelties, and ordered the city to be cleared of informers by a general slaughter.

In one of his letters to the Senate, under the effects of disgust and aversion to measures which he had pursued for his own safety, but which he found to involve him in growing danger and guilt, he betrayed the distraction and anguish of his mind. "May I perish," he said, "under evils still worse than those I endure, if I know what to write, or what I should not write." These were probably the boils, ulcers, and sores, on the body of Tiberius, to which Julian alludes³³ in presenting him among his Cæsars.

In the memoirs which this emperor kept of the transactions of his reign, he stated the disgrace and execution of Sejanus, as a punishment inflicted on him for his cruelties to the family of Germanicus; and yet these cruelties, which were afterwards carried to much greater heights by the emperor himself, had been only begun under the influence of that minister.

Agrippina, with two of her sons, Nero and Drusus, had, during the administration of Sejanus, been taken into custody, or banished to some of the islands contiguous to the coast of Italy; but all of them perished after the death of Sejanus, either by the executioner, or by their own hands, urged to despair by the indignities they were made to suffer.

The mother perished in one or other of these ways in the island Pandateria, the place of her exile; and the eldest of her two sons

³³ Vid. Cæsars of Julian.

was starved to death in one of the small islands called Pontia, to which he was confined.

The second son perished in the same manner, some time afterwards, in a prison to which he had been committed in the palace. A diary had been kept of all the expressions of impatience which, under this confinement, had dropt from him during some years; and the reproaches which were extorted from him, by his sufferings, were stated as the crimes for which he suffered.

A third son of Germanicus and Agrippina, Caius, better known by the name of Caligula, yet remained, to convince the Roman People, that the fond expectations which are formed of princes who die prematurely, are not always well founded. This young man, whether recommended to Tiberius by an early sympathy of their characters, or merely overlooked by him on account of his youth, not only escaped the persecutions in which his family was involved, but was at last embraced by the emperor as a support to his age; and making a part of his court at Caprea, next to Macro, enjoyed the second place in his favour.

The emperor had a grandson by birth of the name of Tiberius; but Caius, who was his grandson by adoption, being elder, was pointed out by this circumstance of seniority, and by the favour which the People still bore to the family of Germanicus, as heir apparent to the empire.

Caius was encouraged by the grandfather, to whom falsehood appeared to be a necessary ingredient in every transaction, to expect the succession, while it was really intended for Tiberius. The first, though not qualified by address to extricate himself from any difficulties, acted, perhaps from mere insensibility or fear, the part which was fittest in his place, and which continued to render him sufferable at the court of Tiberius. He acquiesced in the fate of his mother, and of his brothers, without uttering a single word of impa-

tience.

tience on regret, regulated his own behaviour by the emperor's looks; and whether his countenance were gloomy or gay, formed his own upon the same model, carrying, under the aspect of extreme servility, while a subject, that detestable profligacy which rendered him afterwards so cruel a tyrant, and which gave occasion to the famous saying, "That his accession to the empire spoilt a good slave to make "a detestable master"."

The accounts which are given of the latter part of the reign of Tiberius, have more the appearance of invective than of history. Even this hateful monster, it is said, was addicted to pleasure; but of so vile a kind, as to excite detestation and loathing, more than to increase the indignation which is felt at his cruelties and other crimes. His procurers had authority to employ seduction, money, and force; and, in their endeavours to supply his caprice, spared neither condition nor sex. It is difficult to conceive, that a world, enlightened by the reason and experience of so many ages; that citizens, acquainted with the character and the rights transmitted to them from their ancestors; that military men, yet rivalling the reputation of the antient Romans, and having no interest in the horrid use that was made in the capital of the imperial and military power which they themselves bestowed and supported; should submit to be commanded for so many years by a superannuated monster, retired from the world, and supposed to practise every species of private abomination, as well as of public oppression.

In accounting for the patience of the Romans under this odious reign, we may observe, that, in the sense of a People who still retained the ferocity of their ancestors, though possessed of few of their good qualities, the cruelties which are mentioned had less effect than they have on our feelings. They were practised chiefly against per-

³⁴ Tacit. Annal. c. 20.

sons, who, being of the emperor's family, or raised by himself to be objects of general envy, were easily abandoned by the public to his will.

Senators of distinction at Rome, having no protection to expect from the populace, by whom they were hated, from the troops who were jealous of them, or from their own order, who were long since stript of every remnant of real power, were abandoned to the mercy of the tyrant. The followers of his own court at Capreae, amongst whom the executioner made a principal personage, were still more in his power. They were commonly executed in presence of the emperor himself, who assisted in the refinements of cruelty which were practised against them. It was a favourite sport to throw those, whom he doomed to destruction, from a precipice into the sea, where they were received by a party from the galleys, who, with boat-hooks and oars, dispatched such as were otherwise likely to escape.

After such an account of the character of this emperor, it is painful, in accounting for the success of his government, to acknowledge that he was a man of considerable ability; and that, while he indulged his passions in the capital, or at his own court, yet in the provinces, where the consequences of an error might have been fatal or dangerous to his power, he held the reins with a steady and a well-directed hand. Having possession of the empire by means of the army, he maintained his authority over this order of men by a well-placed application of discipline; not by any extraordinary indulgence, or bounty, which often corrupt, and render ungovernable, those whom they are intended to gain. On this subject, it is observed that he never made any general donation beside that of doubling the legacy which Augustus had bequeathed to the troops; and no particular one, besides those which he made to the Prætorian bands to secure their acquiescence in the fate of Sejanus; and to the legions of the East, as a reward for their not having paid, to this favourite, in the height of his power,

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power, the honours which were done to him by all the other armies of the empire³¹. He preserved his authority in the provinces by a jealous inspection of those who were intrusted with the administration of his affairs; and in this was, no doubt, greatly assisted by his indifference to personal friendships, which, in princes better disposed than himself, have often the effect of pernicious predilections and partialities. He checked all attempts at conspiracies, by the impression he gave of his vigilance, and by the mutual distrust with which he inspired his enemies, making their treachery to each other, the road to preferments, honours, and wealth.

The ordinary rotation and succession to office and command, which Augustus, in continuation of the republican forms, had still maintained, Tiberius, by a very natural tendency of the monarchical spirit, in a great measure, or entirely, abolished. Such officers as were successful in keeping the peace of their provinces, he generally continued for many years, and sometimes for life. He avoided, as much as possible, the necessity of employing, at the head of armies, men of enterprise, forward ambition, or even superior capacity. He left the disorders, or troubles, that arose in any distant province, to the effect of time, rather than be obliged to employ, in repressing them, men who were likely to eclipse his own glory, or to awaken his jealousy. But as such men were likely ill to endure the state of obscurity in which they were kept, he soothed their discontents, sometimes, by flattering them with extraordinary honours. He named them for stations of high command; but still under various pretences detained them at Rome, where they were allowed to appear with the ensigns of their public character, but never to enter on the possession of its powers.

³¹ In the armies of the West, the effigy of Sejanus was carried with the colours, or ensigns of the legion.

To these particulars we may join the advantages which Tiberius enjoyed by succeeding to Augustus, whose long and well-regulated government had left, throughout the empire, habits of submission and obedience, which could not be shaken by offences committed within the verge of the court, or in the capital, and against particular descriptions of men, in whom the empire at large took little concern.

The ordinary residence of this emperor, during eleven years in the later period of his reign, was in the island of Caprez. This he had chosen as a place of security against any sudden attempts which might be made on his life. He nevertheless paid occasional visits to the continent of Italy, and made some stay at his villas situated in different parts of the country. In changing his abode, he kept the city of Rome in continual dread of his approach, sometimes presented himself in the neighbouring villages, and in the suburbs, but never entered the gates. At one time, he came by water to the gardens of the Naumachia, and, feeling himself incommoded by the concourse of people, placed guards to keep them at a distance, and soon after withdrew; at another time, in the last years of his reign, he advanced to the seventh mile-stone, and was in the sight of the battlements, but proceeded no farther. Being sensible of his decline and approaching dissolution, he undertook these journeys to keep the Romans in awe, and to check the hopes they were apt to entertain of an approaching deliverance from his tyranny. From the same motives, he prohibited the resort of the People to supposed oracles which he knew to be consulted with respect to the prospect of his own decease, and forbade all intercourse with astrologers and magicians, a class of men, in whose skill he himself, though a contemner of the established superstition, had much faith.

On the approach of death, Tiberius, feeling his strength rapidly decline, strove to amuse the public with another voyage, in which

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he once more pretended an intention to visit Rome; and being attended by Caius, by Macro, and by his usual retinue of guards and parasites, he crossed the bay of Baia, to the head-land of Misenum, where he possessed a villa which had formerly belonged to Lucullus. At this place one of his physicians, under pretence of taking his leave for some days, pressed his hand, and took an opportunity to feel his pulse. From this stolen observation, it is said, that he ventured to inform Caius and Macro, that the emperor could not survive many days.

Tiberius being led by some appearances to penetrate their thoughts, or wishing to conceal the real state of his health, took his place, as usual, at table, affected to prolong the entertainment, and addressed himself, at parting, with some particular words of attention to every guest: but after an effort of this sort, being retired to his apartment, he fainted away, and lay on his bed for dead. The report immediately ran from one end of the villa to the other. All the officers of the guards in attendance, and all the members and followers of the court, repaired to Caius with congratulations on his supposed accession to the empire. But while they were thus employed in paying their addresses to the successor, a servant arrived, and, in great consternation, announced that the emperor was revived, and called for assistance. The company, in a moment, was dispersed; and Caius, with extreme terror, saw the ruin which threatened him for his premature acceptance of the court that was paid to him. But Macro retained his presence of mind, and put a sudden stop to the feeble efforts of returning life in Tiberius, by gathering up the coverlet of his bed, so as to stop his breath until he was suffocated.

C H A P. VII.

Succession of Caius to the Empire.—The first Appearances of his Reign.—Conclusion of the History.—Observations on the Sequel.—Accession of the Flavian Family.—Vicissitudes of Character in the Emperors.—Sources of Degradation in the Imperial Establishment.—Its Preservatives.—Its real and continual, though almost insensible, Decline.

TIBERIUS died in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and in the twenty-third year of his reign. By this event the Imperial throne, for the first time since its establishment, became actually vacant. Men were left to form their conjectures of what was likely to happen, or, without any established rule of succession, to form their judgment of what was proper to be done on this emergency. Every question relating to the succession had been prevented at the demise of Augustus, by his having associated Tiberius in the government, a precaution by which the successor, instead of being left to rely on a controvertible title, was put in actual possession of the sovereignty. It is likely that Tiberius would have followed this example, if his grandson by birth, for whom he intended the empire, had been of a proper age to assume the government; but this young man was no more than seventeen years of age, while Caius, the grandson by adoption, was already five-and-twenty, had the better pretension, and was supported by the favour of the Roman People.

In these circumstances, the dying emperor thought it dangerous to declare for his grandson; but secretly drew up a will in his favour, of which he carefully lodged many copies, while he made the world

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believe, that he intended the succession for Caius. In this act of duplicity he had concealed his real intentions, even from Macro, the commander of the Prætorian bands, on whom the execution of his purpose chiefly depended; and by these means rendered it entirely abortive.

Macro, having been for some time past in actual concert with Caius on the measures that were necessary to secure the succession; and both being equally surprised to find, at the demise of Tiberius, a formal conveyance of the sovereignty in a different channel, their first intention was to cancel this deed; but they soon found, that the testator had made so many copies of his will, and lodged them so securely, as to render their design impracticable. It was determined, therefore, as more advisable, to refer the matter to the Senate, and to obtain an act, founded on a supposed right of seniority, preferring Caius to the throne of Cæsar.

By such an acknowledgment of right, the monarchy gained a new advantage, and perhaps one of the greatest of which it was then susceptible, that some rule of inheritance should be followed to prevent the ruinous contests which arise from an elective or disputed succession, and to give, if possible, together with a permanent right of the sovereign to his high estate, a corresponding right of every citizen to his rank, to his privilege, and to his property.

By this declaration in favour of Caius, it seemed to be admitted, that men were to look for a successor to the empire in the person who stood foremost, by birth or adoption, in the family of Cæsar; and the establishment of the monarchy appeared to be complete. The titles of Emperor and Prince*, or head of the army and of the Senate, under which Augustus endeavoured to conceal the extent of his usurpation, came, in the course of his own and the succeeding reign, to signify what,

* Imperator & Princeps.

among

among the designations of sovereignty and imperial power, they now actually import, and what, through a race of men, blessed with virtuous or moderate dispositions, might, as in other instances, have passed by hereditary succession to a very distant posterity; but in the persons who immediately succeeded to the government, the transmission of this inheritance was accompanied with much violence and frequent interruption.

Notwithstanding the acknowledgment now made in favour of hereditary right, the example of a formal resignation and resumption of the sovereignty, set by Augustus, and repeated by Tiberius, had entailed a kind of farce on the empire, to be acted, not only at the accession of successive masters, but in the same reign, at every period of ten years. At every such period the appointment of an emperor was supposed to be renewed: the occasion was attended with much solemnity, and the celebration of a great festival^a for the entertainment of the People.

Caius, therefore, while he was far from admitting any doubt of his right to the sovereignty, nevertheless, mimicked the caution or artifice with which Augustus and Tiberius proceeded to assume the reins of government. He repeated the same professions of respect and of zeal for the commonwealth, the same expressions of personal modesty, the same unwillingness to undertake the government, the same reluctant compliance with the pressing requests of the Senate and People, the same affectation of filial piety to his predecessor, and of indulgence or candour to those who had, in any way, obstructed his own advancement. It was become the fashion to affect destroying all papers and records, from which any one could fear to have matter of accusation brought against him; but it was become the practice to preserve them with great care.

^a The Decennalia.

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While the new emperor passed from Misenum to Rome, he was attended on the highways by incredible numbers of people, who, animated by the affection which they bore to his father Germanicus, and by the hopes of exchanging a cruel and jealous tyrant for a youth of a noble and virtuous extraction, received him with acclamations of joy, calling him their propitious star, the child and the nursling of the Roman People, and bestowing upon him every other appellation of fondness and respect. It is scarcely to be doubted, as his mind was then elated with joy, for his deliverance from the insidious and cruel jealousy of his predecessor, and moved by the affection and cordiality with which his succession was acknowledged by all orders of men, that he must have felt a real, however temporary, gleam of good will and affection to mankind. When officiously told of some offences which had been committed against his person or his pretensions, he said, "That he had done nothing to merit the hatred of any one, and should be deaf to the whispers of informers or spies." Affecting to follow the impulse of his own filial piety, and to be moved by the affectionate sympathy of the Roman People, he hastened to the island of Pandateria, where his mother Agrippina had suffered so long a confinement under the tyranny of Tiberius, raked up the ashes of her funeral pile, embraced her remains, and ordered them to be carried with great ostentation to Rome. Although decency required him to observe the forms, and to carry the aspect of mourning for his late adoptive father and predecessor, he complied with what he knew to be the wishes of the Roman People, affecting to reverse many orders that were established in the administration and policy of the preceding reign.

Here then, if not before, we may date the final and irretrievable extinction of the Roman republic, not only in the subversion of its own institutions, and in the actual substitution of different forms, but in the acknowledgment of a right which made the succession to imperial

imperial power hereditary, as well as the extent of it far beyond what was consistent with the prerogatives formerly enjoyed by the Senate and People of Rome. At this termination, therefore, of the Roman republic, agreeably to the design of this history, the narration must cease or conclude, with a very general view of what befel the empire in the succession of masters, and in the result of its own greatness.

Notwithstanding the favourable appearances which presented themselves at the accession of Caius, he not having, either in his understanding or dispositions, the permanent foundation of any good character, his personal vices soon broke out in one of the most brutal and sanguinary tyrannies of which there is any example in the history of mankind. Having no choice of amusement above that of the lowest people, he soon plunged, together with them, into every species of dissipation and debauchery; remained whole days and nights in the theatres and in the circus, entertained with the fights of gladiators, the baiting of wild beasts, and all the other species of shows, of which the Romans, once a warlike people, now a corrupted populace, were so immoderately fond.

Ambitious citizens under the republic, and even the late emperors, with their court, had occasionally given their attendance at such entertainments, more to please the humour of the populace than to gratify their own: but this emperor himself, in respect to the qualities of his mind, was to be ranked with the lowest of the vulgar. He considered the circus as the principal scene of his glory, and the number of shows he could procure as the measure of his greatness. That the scenes might not be interrupted, or the spectators be obliged to retire to their meals, he fed them in the theatre. He promoted persons to offices of State, or marked them out for disgrace or ruin, according to the ardour or indifference which they seemed to have for these entertainments. In the degree of extravagance to which he carried this matter, he incurred an immoderate expence; and,

besides applying to this purpose the ordinary revenue of the empire, squandered, within the year, a saving of about two-and-twenty millions sterling, left in the treasury by his predecessor.

In the sequel of these vile misapplications of time, the satiety he experienced led him to indulge himself in the most scandalous and offensive debauch. A sense of the public hatred or contempt which he incurred, galled him with jealousy and distrust; and these passions soon ripened into a general enmity to mankind. Every species of brutal indulgence, qualified with the name of pleasure; deliberate murders, under the pretence of the execution of justice, ordered without any formalities of trial, perpetrated in his own presence, and attended with expressions of insult and scorn from himself, make up the sequel of a reign which began with some professions and propitious appearances of moderation and regard to the opinion of the world. But the degree to which human nature itself was disgraced and insulted, in these detestable abuses of power, hastened an attempt to relieve the empire from the dominion of this monster. He fell in about three years after he began to reign, in one of the passages of his own palace, by the hands of Chærea, an officer of his guard, who, without any intention to supplant or to succeed him in the empire, formed a conspiracy against his life.

The Senate, for a few hours after this event, flattered themselves in the belief that the government had devolved on themselves; and Chærea, by whose hands the tyrant had fallen, fondly wished for the restoration of the republic; but the Prætorian bands thought themselves intitled to dispose of the empire. Before their officers had taken any measures for this purpose, a few straggling soldiers pervading the courts and recesses of the palace, seized upon Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, and uncle of Caligula, who, as a changeling devoid of ordinary understanding, had been long neglected or overlooked in the palace. This being the person who seemed, by his relation

to the late emperors, to have the best claim to the name and succession of the Cæsarian or Claudian families, they raised him on their shoulders, yet trembling with fear, lest he should be involved in the fate of his kinsman Caligula, and hastening with their burden to the fortress or barrack, were received by their companions with shouts and acclamations, which announced to the Senate and the People that a successor was given to the throne of Cæsar.

The inactivity of this new sovereign might have furnished the world with at least an innocent master, if his want of capacity could have been supplied without committing his power into hands equally disposed to abuse it with the worst of his predecessors. Fit only to be a pageant in the ceremonies of a court, or a tool to be employed by those who got possession of him, he came at last into the hands of the second Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and sister of Caligula, who, though his niece, became his wife, and prevailed upon him to adopt the young Domitius Ahenobarbus, her son by a former husband; and by these means made way for his succession to the empire under the appellation of Nero.

This impetuous, severe, and profligate woman, equally ardent in the acquisition as in the abuse of power, mistook, for parental affection, the earnest passion with which she wished to govern in the name of her son. Having ability enough, however, where she was not misled by her passions, to distinguish the proper instruments of government, she endeavoured to procure for him, in the tutory of Burhus, who was placed by her means at the head of the Prætorian bands, and of Seneca, who was by her means likewise recalled from banishment to his place in the Senate, the most able or specious direction which the times could afford.

Nero acting for some time what Burhus suggested, and speaking what Seneca dictated, appeared to be a prodigy of wisdom and ingenuity. But his own personal disposition, making its way in a

little time through the mask of sayings and of actions which were not his own, gave sufficient evidence, that the circumstance of having been the mere puppet, though actuated by the most able and ingenious hands, does not bestow ingenuity or ability, and that a direction, however wise, received from others without discernment or knowledge of its value, cannot carry to the mind of those who submit to it the character of wisdom.

The name of Nero, after the person who bore it had, during a few years in the beginning of his reign, been supposed the model of royal and philosophic virtue³, has become proverbial for caprice, folly, brutality, insolence, and cruelty. To the contempt of his subjects he at last joined a contempt of that very dignity to which he himself was raised as sovereign of so great an empire. Having a talent for music, he became, or believed himself to be, a distinguished performer, exhibited his skill on the public theatres, and travelled through Greece in the character of an artist, to receive the applauses of a people supposed to excel in discernment and taste.

The contempt which Nero incurred in quitting the character of Sovereign for that of Musician, became more fatal to him than the general detestation which he had formerly excited. A revolt which took place at first in Gaul, was followed by a defection of all the armies of the empire, and reduced him to the necessity of quitting, together with his life, a situation of which he proved so unworthy. Next to the fears which assailed him on the prospect of death, he was most affected, it is said, with surprise, that the world could submit to lose the hand of so great a performer.

Such then, in the first period of this monarchy, was the progress of a sovereignty erected by the Cæsars with so much violence, bloodshed, and criminal address. According to our ideas of inheritance,

³ The quinquennium Neronis, was a proverbial expression for what promised well, but turned out otherwise.

the succession did not once take place in the family of the first founder, but was pieced out by continual adoptions from the Octavian, the Claudian, and, last of all, from the Domitian family.

The reign of Augustus has been generally applauded, and may be considered as a model for those, who wish to govern with the least possible opposition or obstruction to their power. It may serve likewise as a caution to those, who need to be told under what disguise the most detestable tyranny will sometimes approach mankind. The wary design which marked the character of Augustus, was followed by worse principles in the breasts of those who succeeded him; and the dominion he established, merely to subject the empire to his own power, without any disposition to abuse it, became, in the sequel, an instrument of the vilest tyranny, and brought upon the public stage of the world actors, whom their dispositions and characters must otherwise have condemned to obscurity, or exposed as a disgrace and a blemish to human nature.

The manners of the Imperial court, and the conduct of succeeding emperors, will scarcely gain credit with those who estimate probabilities from the standard of modern times. But the Romans were capable of much greater extremes than we are acquainted with. They retained, through all the steps of the revolution which they had undergone, their ferocity entire, without possessing, along with it, any of those better qualities, which, under the republic, had directed their courage to noble, at least to great and national purposes.

Augustus had established the military government with great caution, and even affected the appearances of a citizen, while he secured all the powers of a master. His successors retained in public the same familiarity of manners, without the same guard against its abuses, and affected to be popular in the city and in the camp, without the circumspection which preserved the first emperor from the

contagion of mean and degrading examples. The State itself was just emerged from democracy, in which the pretensions to equality checked the ordinary uses which, under monarchies, are made of fortune and superior condition. The distinctions of royalty, and with these the proprieties of behaviour, in high rank, were unknown. An attempt at elegant magnificence and courtly reserve, which, in established monarchies, makes a part of the royal state, and a considerable support of its dignity, were avoided in this fallen republic, as more likely to excite envy and hatred, than deference or respect.

The Roman emperors, perhaps, in point of expence, both public and private, exceeded every other sovereign of the world; but their public expences consisted in the exhibition of shows and entertainments, in which they admitted the meanest of the people to partake with themselves. Their personal expences consisted not so much in the ostentation of elegance or refined pleasure, as in a serious attempt to improve sensuality into a continual source of enjoyment; and their pleasures consisted, of consequence, in the excesses of a brutal and retired debauch. This debauch was supported by continual endeavours to excite satiated appetite, to prolong its gratifications, and to supply the defects of mere animal pleasure, with conceits of fancy and efforts of buffoonery or low humour.

The manners of imperial Rome are thus described in the remains of a satire*, as elegant in the style, as it is gross and disgusting in the matter, and which we may suppose to be just in the general representation, whatever we may think of its application to any of the princes whose names and succession have been mentioned†.

Although it would be absurd to imagine such a satire levelled at the corruptions of a modern court, whose principal weakness is vanity,

* That of Petronius.

† Mr. Voltaire has with contempt rejected its supposed application to the manners of a court.

and whose luxury consists in ostentation; we must not therefore reject every supposed application of it to the pollutions of a Roman barrack, or, what nearly resembled a barrack, the recesses of a Roman palace, where the human blood that was shed in sport, was sometimes mixed with the wine that was spilt in debauch^a. The representations of Petronius may be applied, in some parts, to the court of Tiberius and Claudius, more properly than to that of Caligula or Nero, or may have been a general satire levelled at the corruptions of the times, without any such application. But with respect to one or other of those emperors, every part in the feast of Tremelchio may have been a genuine, though disguised picture.

Even in the court of the sober Augustus, pleasure was but another name for debauch. Love was no more than the ebullition of temperament, without the allurements of elegance, or the seduction of affection or passion. In the licence of the sexes, both of them alike resorted to the places of public debauch. Women of the highest rank affected the manners of prostitutes, and, to realize the evidence of their victories, collected the ordinary rewards of prostitution. Such was the debauch for which Julia, the daughter of Augustus, was infamous, and in which she exhibited, as has been observed, not the weakness of a mind misled by passion, or seduced by some partial affection, but the gross excess of an appetite unacquainted with decency and above restraint.

In this state of manners the first successors of Cæsar, not having the habits of a courtly decorum to preserve them from the contagion of mean and degrading vices, and not considering their own elevation as any other than a mere post of advantage, from which they could indulge every caprice with impunity, after a few attempts in the beginning of a reign to prejudice the world in their favour, plunged into every

^a The Romans had combats of gladiators exhibited while they were at table.

D. O. P. E.
XIV

species of excess, that a vile disposition, set free from restraint, and exasperated by the sense of general aversion, could incur. Persons inclined to this course generally proceed in their vices, until they meet with some obstacle which necessity or fear presents to them, and where they meet with no such obstacle, they preserve no bounds.

A perfect freedom from all external restraint would be sufficiently dangerous for persons of the best dispositions; but to those who are curst with the worst, such a freedom from restraint would be accompanied with certain ruin. It is indeed nowhere to be found; but the first successors of Cæsar flattered themselves that they had found it; and as they supported the first offences which they committed against the rules of propriety, by setting reason itself and the sense of mankind at defiance, they came to apprehend a species of pleasure in braving the detestation which they incurred by their infamies. They pursued the first strokes of injustice and malice by a continual warfare of distrust, prevention, and revenge against those to whom they supposed that their persons or government were odious; and they persisted in this course until the extreme itself, being what nothing less than the possession of sovereign power could support, appeared characteristic of empire, and worthy of the descendants of Cæsar.

During this unhappy succession of Cæsars, the supreme power had been, for the most part, held or disposed of by the Prætorian bands. These troops being posted in the capital, overawed the Senate and People, and, though not fit to contend with the legions who were still employed in actual service, they gave possession of the empire, at every vacancy, before the armies of the frontier had time to deliberate or to take part in the choice.

This pre-eminence, however, of the Prætorian bands had been impatiently suffered by the legions of the Rhine and the Danube.

Magnitudo infamiae cujus apud prodigos novissima voluptas.

**

They

They wished, at the death of Augustus, to have given a specimen of their consequence in naming a successor to the empire; but being then over-ruled by the dutiful spirit or moderation of Germanicus, they acquiesced in the government of Tiberius, and remained in quiet under all the successions which followed; until, being excited by the defection of Gaul, which happened under Nero, and impatient of the mockery of sovereignty exhibited in the infamies of that unhappy person, they entertained, almost in every quarter of the empire at once, the project of giving a better and more respectable sovereign to the world.

Within the compass of one year and a few months, after it was known that the province of Gaul had revolted from Nero, all the armies from the Rhine and the Danube, from Gaul, Syria, Spain, and Britain, were for their march towards Italy, for the important purpose of giving a sovereign to the empire. And it is remarkable, that this project did not originate with the leaders, or appear to be suggested by the ambition of generals, but arose from a spirit of commotion which pervaded the troops.

Every legionary soldier, excited by the desire of rapine, by the prospect of possessing the capital, and of rioting in the riches and pleasures of Italy, conceived the design of pushing forward his general to the head of the empire. They burst at once from their quarters, and, considering themselves as set free from every species of government, whether civil or military, set no bounds to their violence. Augmenting their fury by the consideration of the punishments they incurred, in case they should fail in their attempt, they passed through every city and province in their way, like a storm that wastes and destroys whatever is opposed to its course. Within the short period we have mentioned, a motley assemblage of provincial troops, dressed in the garb of their different countries, with different arms and different languages, mixed with the Roman legions,

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VI.

legions, who, now for many years strangers to each other, met on the Po and the Tiber to dispose of the empire. And, in the sequel of their contest, whether as victors or vanquished, whether moved by insolence or despair, did equal execution on the pacific inhabitants.

These troubles, however, ended in the elevation of a great and respectable officer^a to the throne of Cæsar, and in the substitution of the Flavian family to that of Claudius and of Julius. At the accession of Vespasian every army had tried its strength, and competitors from the Court, the Senate, and the Camp had made trial of their fortune. The victors in this contest received a willing submission from the pacific inhabitants of the provinces, who were ready to congratulate themselves on the return of public tranquillity.

Fortunately the first emperors of the new family, Vespasian himself, and the eldest of his two sons^b, come from the school of experience, had learned the value of reason, humanity, and justice in the government of mankind; and they accordingly exhibited a character which, in some of its parts, was still new on the throne of Cæsar: the character of wisdom, propriety, and humanity, assumed, for its own sake, and without any intention to circumvent the People, or to impose upon the world. But the fortunes of this second imperial family, like those of the first, soon devolved on a^c person equally unfit to sustain them, and equally unfit to be suffered by the patience of an abject court or a submissive world.

As mankind are known to run, occasionally, from one extreme to another, the evils which had been experienced in the characters of some of the preceding emperors, perhaps helped to direct the armies of the empire, at times, to think of the opposite extreme; and they made a compensation, in some of their elections, for the mischiefs which they had brought upon the world in others.

^a Vespasian.^b Titus.^c Domitian.

Amidst

Amidst the variety of examples that were set on the imperial throne, different emperors paid unequal degrees of respect to the civil forms which were handed down to them from the republic, and which were still retained at least in name. But the characters of sovereign in the empire, and head of the army, were necessarily united in the same person; and, in proportion as the army itself came to be corrupted, the imperial establishment suffered, not an occasional and temporary abuse, but a radical and irrecoverable decline of its character and force.

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VII.

The Prætorian bands were early debauched by their residence in the capital, the principal seat of licentiousness; they were inspired with presumption from the access which they had to practise on the vices of their sovereign, and they outran all the armies of the empire in profligacy, insolence, and venality. They were, upon this account, broke or disbanded with indignation by Galba, the first provincial officer who was advanced to the purple; but this reformation only made way for others, who, being placed in the same school of disorder and vice, soon equalled their predecessors in all the evils which they had brought on the capital, and on the empire.

The contagion of military arrogance gradually spread from the barrack or camp of the Prætorian bands, to the legions of the frontier, and, together with the hopes of raising a favourite leader to the head of the empire, promised indulgence of crimes and exemption from every painful restraint. The practice of disposing of the empire was followed by that of selling it for pecuniary bounties, and formally capitulating with every new master for a relaxation of discipline and the impunity of crimes.

In proportion as the character of Roman citizen lost its consideration and its consequence, the name was easily communicated to all the subjects or natives of any province. But this promiscuous admission of every subject, under the same predicament of a Roman

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citizen, instead of raising the provincials to the dignity of Romans, sunk the latter to the level of provincial subjects; extinguished all the sentiments on which the legions of old were wont to value themselves, and, with their loss of self-estimation as Romans, probably diminished the interest they had in the preservation of the Roman name. They became by degrees, and at every succession, more mercenary and venal in the choice of their masters, more brutal in the exercise of their force against their fellow-subjects; and, with a continual degradation from bad to worse, substituted for the order, courage, and discipline of Roman legions, mere ferocity, and a disposition to rapine and mutiny.

In composing such armies, the natives of the more rude and uncultivated provinces took the ascendant over those of the more civilized and pacific; and the empire itself sometimes received its master from its most barbarous extremities, and from the nurseries of brutality, ignorance, and violence.

From such a general tendency to corruption, it is not surprising that an empire, though once of such mighty power, should, in process of time, verge to its ruin; it is rather surprising, that a fabric, mouldering so fast within, should have so long withstood the storm with which it was naturally assailed from abroad. From the accession of Caligula to the admission of Alaric into Rome, was a period of no more than about four hundred years; but from the same Epoch to the reduction of Constantinople by the Turks, was a period of one thousand four hundred and sixteen years. So long was it before the lights of civil, political, and military wisdom, erected by the Roman commonwealth, though struck out by the Goths and Vandals in the West, and continually sinking in the East, were entirely extinguished.

The fabric of the empire had many advantages to account for so long a duration, both in the nature of its materials and in the disposition of its parts. The provinces were conveniently situated for

mutual intercourse and for mutual support; and there was an easy access from the seat of dominion, to the farthest bounds of the empire. The order established by Augustus, and confirmed by Tiberius, remained unaltered, even by many of their successors. The worst of the Cæsars suffered that order to subsist in the provinces, and never looked beyond the court and capital for the objects of their jealousy, and fit subjects of tyranny. Even in such hands the engine of empire continued to work, because the master neither pretended to understand, nor attempted to interpose in the operation of its distant parts. And the authority of government continued high in the extremities of this vast dominion, while it sunk or was abused in the centre.

Valour and discipline, the best preservatives of many other valuable qualities, being long in request, though sometimes impaired in the Roman legions, still formed examples of a noble and heroic virtue, which qualified some of those, who attained to the more high and respectable stations in the military possession, to fill with advantage the imperial throne.

The inhabitants of the empire in general were corrected of that ferocity, or reduced from that national spirit which renders subjects refractory. They were addicted to pacific arts, tractable, and easily retained within the bounds of their duty; and they acquiesced in any government, however negligent or incapable. Some of the emperors promoted this orderly and pacific disposition, by the confidence which they taught the subject to have in the security of his person and of his property, and by the encouragement which they gave to pursuits and applications which inspire the love of peace and tranquillity.

* Vespasian gave salaries of about 800*l.* blished the School of liberal arts, called the a-year to masters of rhetoric at Rome. Mar- Athenæum. Dio. Cass. lib. lxxi. c. 37-
cus Aurelius gave salaries to many teachers. Sertus Aurelius Victor de Cæsaribus.
of philosophy at Athens. Hadrian esta-

It may appear strange, but it is true, that even under the government of mere foldiers of fortune, the principles of law, founded in the maxims of the republic, though in some things perverted to the purposes of despotic power, was made the object of a select profession, and was studied as a rule of peace and of property. The civil law was thus not only suffered to remain in force, but received, from the pleadings of advocates, the decisions of judges, and the edicts of princes, continual accessions of light and authority, which has rendered it the great basis of justice to all the modern nations of Europe.

Philosophy continued in repute from the times of the republic far down in the empire, and the doctrines of Epicurus, which had prevailed in the later times of the commonwealth, now gave way to those of Zeno and the Stoics. While men had rights to preserve, and hazardous duties to perform on the public scene, they had affected to believe, with Epicurus, that pleasure was the standard of good and of evil. But now, when the public occupations of state were withheld from them, and when personal safety was the highest object in their view, they returned to the idea, which seemed to have inspired the virtue of ancient times, that men were made happy by what they themselves were and performed, not by what they possessed. Under the discouragements of many a cruel and oppressive reign, men of education and of high descent accordingly had recourse to the philosophy of Zeno, as to a consolation and support; and although they were deprived of the opportunity to act upon their own ideas in any distinguished situation, they gave sufficient evidence of their sincerity, in the manly indifference with which they sometimes incurred the consequences of their independence and freedom of mind.

From these materials, the law was sometimes furnished with practitioners, the Senate with its members, the army with commanders, and the empire itself with its head; and the throne of Cæsar, in the vicissitudes.

vicissitudes to which it was exposed, presented examples as honourable to human nature in some instances, as they were degrading and shameful in others. In these varieties, however, it is no disparagement to the good, to suppose that they were not able to compensate the bad, or to produce effects, to which the greatest abilities in a few individuals cannot extend.

The wisdom of Nerva gave rise to a succession, which, in the persons of Trajan and the Antonines, formed a counterpart to the race of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero; and it must be admitted, that if a people could be happy by any other virtue than their own, there was a period in the history of this empire, during which the happiness of mankind may have been supposed complete. This however is but a fond and mistaken apprehension. A People may receive protection from the justice and humanity of single men; but can receive independence, vigour, and peace of mind only from their own. Even the virtues of this happy succession could do no more than discontinue, for a while, the former abuses of power, administer justice, restrain the guilty, and protect the innocent. Many of the evils under which human nature was labouring, still remained without a cure; and the empire, after having in the highest degree experienced the effects of wisdom and goodness, was assailed anew with all the abuses of the opposite extreme*.

* These extremes scarcely gain credit with the modern reader, as they are so much beyond what his own experience or observation can parallel. Nero seems to have been a Demon, and Aurelius a Divinity; and these prodigies, whether in the extreme of good or of evil, exhibited, amidst the ruins of the Roman republic, are no longer to be found. Individuals were then formed on their specific dispositions to wisdom or folly. In later times, they are more cast in a general mould, which gives a certain form independent of the materials. Religion, fashion, and manners prescribe more of the actions of men,

or mark a deeper tract in which men are constrained to move.

The maxims of a Christian and a Gentleman, the remains of what men were taught by those maxims in the days of chivalry, pervade every rank, have some effect in places of the least restraint; and if they do not inspire decency of character, at least awe the profligate with the fear of contempt, from which even the most powerful are not secure. Inasmuch, that if human nature wants the force to produce an Aurelius or a Trajan, it is not so much exposed to the infamies of a Domitian or a Nero.

For many ages, nevertheless, the frontier continued to be defended and the internal peace of the empire to be tolerably secure. Commerce flourished, and the land was cultivated; but these were but poor compensations for the want of that vigour, elevation, and freedom, which perished with the Roman republic itself, or with the political character of the other nations which had been absorbed in this ruinous abyss.

The military and political virtues, which had been exerted in forming this empire, having finished their course, a general relaxation ensued, under which, the very forms that were necessary for its preservation were in process of time neglected. As the spirit which gave rise to those forms was gradually spent, human nature fell into a retrograde motion, which the virtues of individuals could not suspend; and men, in the application of their faculties even to the most ordinary purposes of life, suffered a slow and insensible, but almost continual, decline.

In this great empire, the fortunes of nations over the more cultivated parts of the earth, being embarked on a single bottom, were exposed to one common and general wreck. Human nature languished for some time under a suspension of national exertions, and the monuments of former times were, at last, overwhelmed by one general irruption of barbarism, superstition, and ignorance. The effects of this irruption constitute a mighty chasm in the transition from antient to modern history, and make it difficult to state the transactions and manners of the one, in a way to be read and understood by those whose habits and ideas are taken intirely from the other.



THE END.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY JAMES OSGOOD

VOLUME I

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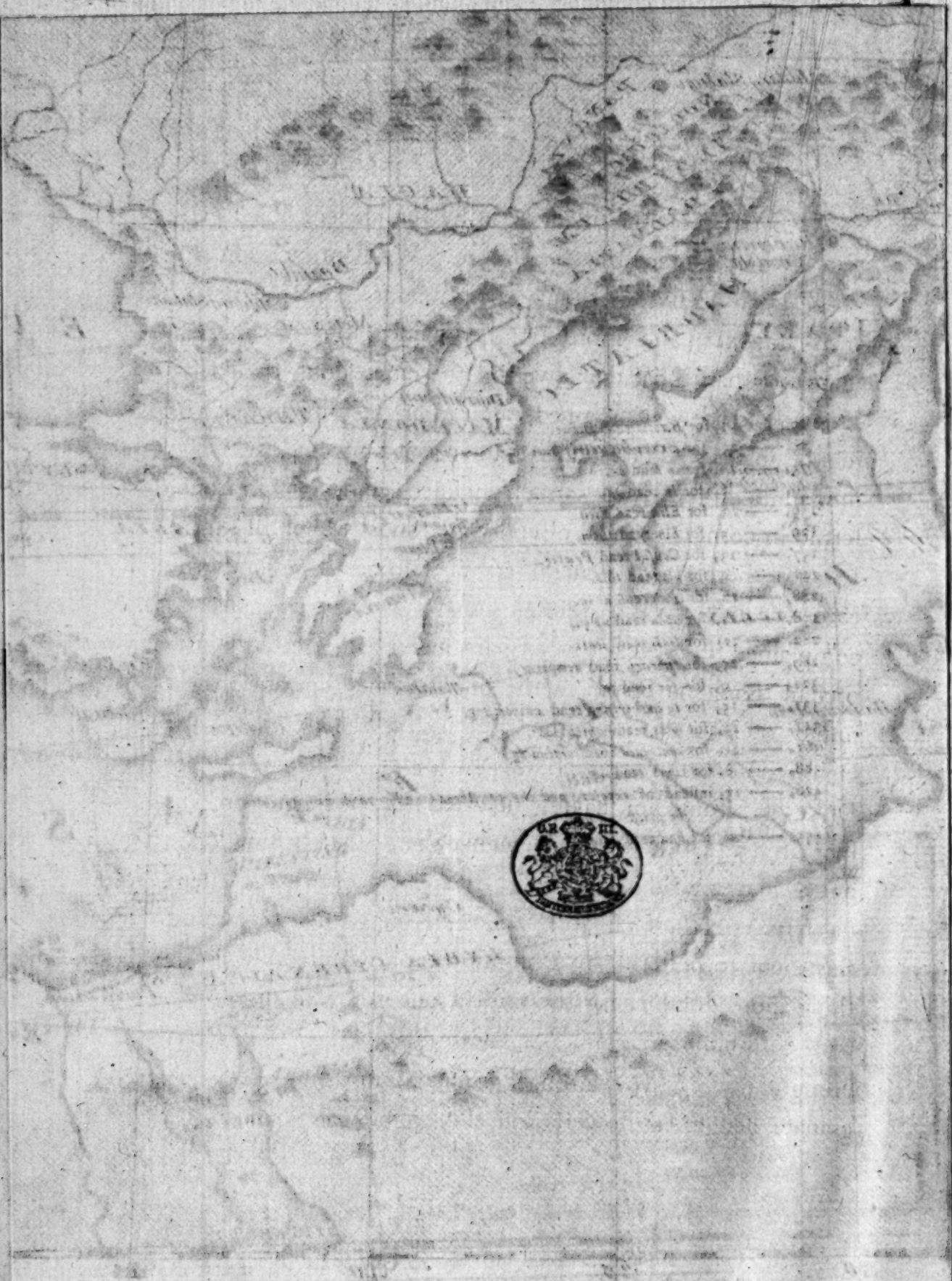
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THE
ROMAN EMPIRE
Exhibiting its
COASTS and INTERNAL DIVISIONS
With the Principal
NAVAL and MILITARY STATIONS
under
Augustus

Plate 6th. at the End of the 3rd Vol.



E R R A T A.

Page 19, line 19, for *Baotiz* read *Baptiz*.

35, — 25, for *a very disorderly state* read *in a very disorderly state*.

75, — 29, for *in* read *on*.

79, — 8, for *in* read *on*.

119, — 20, for *Elia* read *Eliab*.

129, — 3, for *him* read *them*.

157, — 13, for *Caul* read *Prætor*.

241, — 4, for *his* read *this*.

248, — 12, for *is an* read *as in*.

258, — 14, for *upon* read *up on*.

282, — 22, for *seals* read *seats*.

289, — 25, for *temary* read *temporary*.

321, — 9, for *for* read *to*.

331, — 15, for *to authorising* read *authorising*.

341, — 12, for *was* read *which was*.

365, — 21, for *continued* read *continuing*.

388, — 8, for *times* read *time*.

426, — 15, instead of *exposed, and the priesthood; had, read exposed; and the priesthood had.*

455, — 24, for *had* read *laid*.

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